APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES
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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

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27. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπενόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἠξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Κελτικήν, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος, εἰδὼς μέν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὁρμώμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὡς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινέ τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ᾔσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενόουν. ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν

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Antony brings the Macedonian army to Italy

27. Antony conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Caesar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now, for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money in case Antony should resort to violence, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law

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δῆμον αἰτῆσαι νόμῳ τὴν Κελτικήν, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν Δολοβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαΐῳ τὸν Ἰόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν, ὡς προσετέτακτο· θέαι δ' ἦσαν, ἃς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσειν· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θέας τῷ πατρὶ τόν τε χρύσεον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θέας ἐψηφίσαντο προτίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἦγεν ὡς ὕπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, "ἀνάφερε," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ᾖ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσεν. ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεὼν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει. τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μῖσος ἤδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγίγνετο, ὡς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν Καίσαρα φιλονικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

Αὐτός τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἷα φρουρᾶς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπιφθόνως ἱκέτευεν οὗ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε

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in the same manner that Caesar had obtained it at a former time, and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundusium.

Growing rivalry between Octavian and Antony

28. Gaius proceeded to do as ordered. Meanwhile there had arrived the time for the games which the aedile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavian made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and garland, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Caesar to be honoured in this way at games given at his expense, Octavian brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavian was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony became angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honour of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. Then at last it became evident that universal hatred of Antony was already growing out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Caesar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one.

Octavian himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them to pay no attention to

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πάσχοντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἑκόντος, Καίσαρι δὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἀμύνειν, ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου· ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἕξουσι βέβαιον ὧν εἰλήφασι παρὰ Καίσαρος, εἰ μηδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατεβόα· "Καίσαρι μὲν δι' ἐμὲ μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι μήτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργέτῃ σοῦ μάλιστα, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγενημένῳ· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὕβρεων, ἐς ὅσον θέλεις, ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἁρπαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν, μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν· ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πενομένῳ τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἂν διαμένῃ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, ἐὰν ἐάσῃς δοθῆναι."

29. Ἐφ' οἷς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντες ὥρμηντο· καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου ταξίαρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου τότε προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίουν καὶ διὰ σφᾶς καὶ δι' ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ' ἐκείνου τυχόντα. συγγιγνώσκων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδούμενος, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος, ὡμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμνυεν αὐτὰ καὶ

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himself, though the victim of so many and so great outrages, and to ignore him, by his own request, but to defend Caesar, their commander and benefactor, against the insults of Antony; to defend themselves too, because they would never be secure in what they had received from Caesar unless the decrees passed in his honour should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere thoughout the city, leaping up on to any elevated spot, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with Caesar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. On me heap indignities to your heart's content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me."

29. Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in more bitter threats against Octavian, and when they became known the people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony's guard, who had served under the elder Caesar, and who were then in the highest favour with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Caesar and had obtained his present good fortune at Caesar's hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavian himself with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore

The military tribunes intervene

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οἱ πάνυ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ νεανίσκου ἕνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένου τε ἐπαχθῶς ἔτι τηλικοῦδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος αἰδέσιμον ἢ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς ἄρχοντας· ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου χρήζειν ἔτι νουθεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξιούντων ἕνεκα αὐτὸς καθέξειν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπανήξειν, ἢν κἀκεῖνος ἀπέχηται τῆς ἀμετρίας.

30. Ταῦτα οἱ ταξίαρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνῆγον ἀμφοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέβαινον ἐς φιλίαν. ὅ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς προυγράφετο αὐτίκα, ὀρρωδούσης πάνυ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν προβουλεύοι, κωλύειν προβουλευόμενον, εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέροι, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐς κώλυσιν ἐπιπέμπειν. ἦσαν δ' οἳ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλως ἐλευθεροῦν ἡγεμονίας ἠξίουν· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγχοῦ τὴν Κελτικὴν οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ Δέκμῳ μὲν αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὑτῷ δ' ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν καταστρεψάμενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρίπτων ἤδη ταῦτα φανερῶς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφηδομένους τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὴν λοχῖτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοι-

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that what he had done had been quite contrary to his intention, but that he changed his purpose because the young man was inordinately puffed up, being still a youth and showing no respect for his elders and no honour for those in authority. Although for his own benefit the young man still needed reproof, yet in deference to their remonstrances he would restrain his anger and return to his former disposition and intention, if Octavian, also, would curb his presumption.

Antony obtains Cisalpine Gaul with Octavian's help

30. The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavian together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to send the tribunes of the people to veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of entrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Caesar's murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees[1]—throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate expected that the people would be summoned by centuries, but the Antonians, who had enclosed the forum

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[1] There is some confusion here. Caesar did not subdue Cisalpine Gaul.

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CAP. V 31. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐς τὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ συνέπρασσεν Φλαμινίῳ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλειν, ἐπενόουν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις δήμαρχον ἀποφῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθόνει καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ δημαρχῶν τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι· Ἀντώνιός τε τῆς ἄρτι συγκειμένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδών, εἴτε ἐς χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἢ παρηγορίαν, ἀχθομένης τῷ

CHAP. IV with a rope during the night summoned them by tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon.[1] Although the plebeians were incensed against Antony they nevertheless co-operated with him for the sake of Octavian, who stood alongside the rope and begged them to do so. He did this in order that Decimus, who had been one of his father's murderers, might not have the government of so convenient a province, and of the army belonging to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was now in league with him. He expected also to get some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes, too, had been corrupted with money by Antony and remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony now with plausible reason began to bring his army across the Adriatic.

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Antony again opposes Octavian

31. ONE of the tribunes of the people having died Octavian favoured the election of Flaminius as his successor. The people thought that he was ambitious of this office for himself, but that he refrained from being a candidate because he was under age, and accordingly, they proposed to cast their votes for him for tribune. The Senate begrudged him this increase of power, fearing lest, as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony, in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavian, either to curry favour with the Senate, or to appease

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[1] The reading of all the codices is that Antony wanted the votes to be taken by centuries and not by tribes, whereas that plan would have defeated him. Editors accordingly transpose the words "centuries" and "tribes."

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περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς νόμῳ, εἴτε ἀπ’ οἰκείας γνώμης, προύγραφεν ὡς ὕπατος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγχειρεῖν παρανόμως, ἢ χρήσεσθαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας. ἀχαρίστου δ’ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ὑβριστικῆς ἅμα ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῆς προγραφῆς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος διώργιστο καὶ φιλονικήσειν ἔμελλον ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ὥστε δεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν, τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς σαφῶς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ἤδη, πολλοὺς περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποικίδας πόλεις ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἃ πάσχοι, καὶ τὴν ἑκάστων γνώμην καταμανθάνειν· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατόπεδα ἐπιμίγνυσθαί τινας ἀγορὰν φέροντας καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θαρροῦσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαρριπτεῖν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.

32. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν· οἱ ταξίαρχοι δὲ αὖθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καιρὸν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον· “ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ σοῦ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ’ ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρέται γιγνόμενοι διετελοῦμεν, ἔχθει μὲν ἴσῳ καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τοὺς φονέας αὐτοῦ γιγνώσκομεν εἰς ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκείνοις ἐπιρρέπουσαν, τοῦ δήμου δ’ ἐξελάσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀνεθαρρήσαμεν, οὐ πάντῃ τὰ Καίσαρος ὁρῶντες ἄφιλα οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα. τὴν δ’ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν εἴχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλῳ τε Καίσαρος ὄντι καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἄρχοντι νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα

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its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice, as consul, that Octavian should not attempt anything contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use the full measure of his authority against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavian, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavian, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and file.

The tribunes again intervene

32. While Octavian was doing this the military tribunes again sought an audience with Antony and addressed him thus: "We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Caesar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers equally hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favours them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Caesar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Caesar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such.

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ἐπιτηδείῳ. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ θρασέως ἔς τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς σοι Δέκμον ἐπαλειφούσης, καὶ σοῦ τὰς φροντίδας ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν δαπανῶντος, δέδιμεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὔπω παρόντα πόλεμον ἡ στάσις ὑμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθῆται καὶ διαπραχθῇ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἃ βούλονται. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντα σε ἀξιοῦμεν, ὁσίας τε χάριν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ φειδοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων σοι γενομένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμφερόντων οὕνεκα, ἕως ἔτι δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μέν, ὅπερ ἀρκέσει, μόνον συνεπαμῦναι τοὺς φονέας τιμωρουμένῳ, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ γενόμενόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα τοὺς ὑπέρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας."

33. Τοσαῦτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εἰπόντας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε ἠμείψατο· "ὅσῃ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα περιόντα ἐχρώμην, φιλοκινδυνότατος ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας γενόμενος, ἴστε σαφῶς, συστρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρατυχόντες· ὅσῃ δ᾽ αὖ κἀκεῖνος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμήσει χρώμενος διετέλει, οὐ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο κἀμὲ Καίσαρι συνανελεῖν, ὡς ἐμοῦ περιόντος οὐ καθέξοντες ὧν ἐπενόουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐπρεπείᾳ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ὡς μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὺς ὥσπερ ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα ἀνελεῖν ὡς τύραννον. τίς ἂν οὖν πιστεύσειεν

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Our enemies are starting up afresh. They are forcibly seizing Syria and Macedonia and are raising money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement with the young Caesar. We naturally fear lest there be added to the war, which has not yet broken out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against us. We beseech you to consider these things for the sake of piety toward Caesar and care for us, who have never given you cause for complaint, for your own interest even more than ours; and, while you still may, to assist Octavian at any rate so far—for this will suffice—as to punish the murderers. Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and will provide security for us, who are now apprehensive both for ourselves and for you."

Antony replies to them

33. To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: "What friendship and zeal I had for Caesar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favours he showed me, what honours he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Caesar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then,

CAP. V ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι γεγενημένου καὶ προτιμᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν φόνον ἑκόντα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιβούλοις, ὡς οἴεται Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος; πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονίαι; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐμοὶ βούλεται. μάθετε, ὡς ἐγένετο.

34. "Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος ἄφνω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα πλεῖστον ἐμὲ φιλίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· οὐ γάρ πω τὴν συνθήκην ἑώρων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὅσοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομάχοις τὸ Καπιτώλιον καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, ᾗ καὶ νῦν ἐστι φανερώτερον, γέρα τε τοῖς ἀνελοῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο. καὶ εἰ τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφάνη, ἡμῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἀπολέσθαι πᾶσιν ὡς τυράννου φίλοις. ὧδε δή με ἔχοντα θορύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν γνώμης παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἀπορῆσαι, σκοποῦντες εὑρήσετε, ἔνθα μὲν ἔδει τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἔνθα δὲ ὑποκρίσεως, εὐμήχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ πάντων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰ γέρα τὰ ψηφιζόμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ὅπερ, ἀντιτάξας ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἔπραττον σὺν θράσει παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐπικινδύνῳ, τότε μόνον ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀσφαλῶς περιέσεσθαι, ὅταν μὴ Καῖσαρ

CHAP V will believe that I have no care for Caesar, who was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and that I willingly condone his murder at the hands of those who conspired against me also, as the young Caesar imagines? Whence came their amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes to charge these things upon me instead of the Senate. Learn from me how they came about.

34. "When Caesar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not yet the particulars of the conspiracy nor against how many it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with a body of gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Caesar had been declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it was not the time either for any rash move, or for any long hesitation,[1] you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done, because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unfailing courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Caesar's party could be safe only in case Caesar were not declared

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[1] So Keil, approved by Viereck. Others couple γνώμης with ἀπορῆσαι, and Nauck transposes γνώμης. It would then mean "When I might well have been at a loss what to decide."

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35. "Ἆρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγα ἢ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας τὴν βουλὴν ἀνταιτῆσαι δοκῶ; ἢ δοῦναι ἂν αὐτὰ ἡ βουλὴ χωρὶς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ἦν μὲν δὴ καὶ καθαρῶς ἀντιδοῦναι τάδε τῶνδε ἄξιον καὶ φείσασθαι σὺν ἀληθεῖ γνώμῃ φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἀθανάτου Καίσαρος δόξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς σωτηρίας· οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην. ἐπεί γέ τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἃ πρῶτα ἔχρῃζον ἐκράτησα καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὡς ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ μεθεῖντο, ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλυον, οὐ ψηφίσμασιν ἢ δόγμασιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' ἀσήμῳ δημοκοπίᾳ, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ταφῆς ἐς

a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and CHAP. V the Senate itself, plunged alike in fear (lest, if Caesar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves should be convicted of murder), and making their fight for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to gain what I wanted in exchange. What number of things did I want and how important were they? That Caesar's name, to me most dear, should not be blotted out, that his property should not be confiscated, that the adoption on which this young man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will should not be declared invalid, that his body should have a royal funeral, that the immortal honours previously decreed to him should be fulfilled, that all his acts should be confirmed, and that his son, and we his friends, both generals and soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy a life of honour instead of ignominy.

35. "Think you that I asked few or small things from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or that the Senate would have made these concessions without the amnesty? If this exchange had been made in all sincerity it would have been a fair bargain actually to spare the murderers for the sake of Caesar's immortal glory and our complete security, but in fact I did it not with that intention, but in order to postpone the retribution. Accordingly, as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from the Senate, and the murderers, freed from anxiety, were off their guard, I took fresh courage and undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by decrees (for that was impossible), but by working on the people imperceptibly. I brought Caesar's

τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἀπογυμνῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπιδεικνὺς ᾑμαγμένην τε καὶ κατακεκομμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ φιλόδημον αὐτοῦ παλιλλογῶν, ἐκπαθῶς ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μὲν ὡς ἀνῃρημένον, κατακαλῶν δ' ὡς θεόν. τάδε γάρ μου τὰ ἔργα καὶ ῥήματα ἠρέθισε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἧψε μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ὅπως ἀντιπραττούσης καὶ λυπουμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἔδειξαν, ἐμὲ μὲν αἰτιώμενοι τῆς δημοκοπίας, τοὺς δὲ φονέας ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, αἳ μεσταὶ μεγάλων στρατῶν ἦσαν, ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δεδομένου χρόνου διδάξαντες ἐπὶ προφάσει φροντίδος σίτου. ἕτερον δή με δέος ἔτι μεῖζον ἐπελάμβανεν, οὐκ ἔχοντά πω στρατὸν ἴδιον οὐδένα, μὴ πρὸς ἐνόπλους τοσούσδε ἄνοπλοι καθιστώμεθα. καὶ ὁ σύναρχος ὕποπτος ἦν, ἐμοί τε διάφορος ὢν αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου γενέθλιον τῇ πόλει τιθέμενος.

36. "Ὧδε δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἐπειγόμενος ἐξοπλίσαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων τὰ ὅπλα μετενεγκεῖν, Ἀμάτιον ἔκτεινα καὶ κατεκάλεσα Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοῖσδε αὖθις ἁλοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ πρός με μεταθοῖτο. καὶ οὐδ' ὣς αὐτῇ πιστεύων ἔπεισα Συρίαν αἰτεῖν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνέπραξα αἰτοῦντι, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεῦσι Δολοβέλλας ἐχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς

body into the forum under pretence of burial, I laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them and his clothing all bloody and slashed. In public speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for him as slain but invoking him as god. These acts and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled a fire after the amnesty, sent them against the houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city. How all this was done in the teeth of and to the chagrin of the Senate was presently shown, when they blamed me for exciting the people and sent the murderers away to take command of provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia, which were provided with great armies, telling them to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence of looking after the corn supply. And now another and still greater fear took possession of me (since I had no military force of my own as yet), lest we should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so many armed men. I suspected my colleague also because he was always at variance with me, and while pretending to be in the conspiracy against Caesar had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the republic.

36. "While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it over to my side. But as even then I had no confidence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the people by a law, and I favoured his petition so that he should become an enemy instead of a friend of

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αἰσχρὸν ᾖ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντειπεῖν ἐμοὶ περὶ Μακεδονίας. οὐ μέντ' ἂν οὐδ' ὥς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλᾳ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιὰν προμεθῆκα τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι. τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφείλοντο ἂν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαβόντες ἔθνη. δεῆσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, οἷα ἀνθ' οἵων καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἐδόθη, Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφίσιν ὄντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀφῃρημένα βιάζονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήνεκτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τέχναις καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ ἀντιδόσεσιν ἑτέρων· οὐ γάρ πω τῶν ὅπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

37. "Γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἠπόρουν. φήμη δὲ κατέσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν. ἀπιστουμένης δὲ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεψομένων ἀπεσταλμένων, εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην· ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσάν μοι τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην ἰσόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐ τοῖσδε τοῖς φανεροῖς, ὡς οἴεται Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλέοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις

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the murderers, and so that the senators should be ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still, the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not previously transferred the army to Dolabella, on the ground that Syria and the Parthian war had fallen to his lot. And again they would not have taken Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius unless other provinces had been obtained for them to ensure their safety. When it became necessary to make them a recompense, look at the compensatoin that was given to them—Cyrene and Crete, devoid of troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as not sufficient for their safety; and they are now trying to seize by force those that were taken from them. Thus in fact was the army transferred from our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem, by exchange; for when there was no way to gain our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have recourse to the laws.

37. "After these events our enemies had raised another army and it became needful for me to have the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pretext. A rumour gained currency that the Getae were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved, and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I brought forward the decree about the dictatorship, providing that it should not be lawful to speak of it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The senators were particularly taken with this proposal and they gave me the army. Then for the first time I considered myself on an equality with my enemies, not merely with the open ones, as Octavian thinks,

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καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐργασαμένῳ μοι ἕτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλειπεν ἐν πλευραῖς, Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅδε χώρας ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ· ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ θρασύτερον εἰδὼς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφηρούμην, ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος ἀντιδώσειν, γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην. ἀγανακτούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἤδη καθορώσης καὶ ἴστε οἷα καὶ ὅσα Δέκμῳ πολλῶν γραφόντων καὶ ἐπαλειφόντων ἤδη τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐμὲ ὑπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρων ὡς χρησόμενος δὴ ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοῖς εἰπεῖν, χρησόμεθα, ὡς ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

38. "Οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέους τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπισχόντος μετεβάλομεν ἔς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ὧν ἐκφανέντων ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἡ τῶν πλεόνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδή. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅση μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστι μεταμέλεια τῶν ἐψηφισμένων, ὅσος δὲ ἀγὼν ἀφελέσθαι με τὴν Κελτικὴν ἤδη δεδομένην. ἴστε, ἃ γράφουσι Δέκμῳ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐμὲ πείθουσι περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς μεταψηφίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε πατρῴοις καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεῖ γνώμῃ καὶ σὺν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀνδραγαθίαις, μεθ᾽ ὧν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκράτει, ἀμυνοῦμεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βοηθοῦντες.

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but with the more numerous and powerful ones who still choose to remain secret. When I had accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, governing a conveniently placed province with a large army; whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, tried to deprive of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia, without an army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided, therefore, to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundusium so that I might use it in emergencies. And with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful.

38. "Thus have we changed from the great fear that formerly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where we can boldly face our foes. When this change became known the multitude also let their zeal against our enemies be known. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed, and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they write to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country's gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valour, with which Caesar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers both of body and of mind.

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Ταῦτά μοι γιγνόμενα μέν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἔτι ἔχρῃζον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἐξενήνεκται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὓς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς ἐς ἅπαντα τίθεμαι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴ τινες αὐτὰ οὐ συνορῶσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνου Καίσαρος ἀχαρίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντος."

VI

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39. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διεξιόντος, παρέστη τοῖς ταξιάρχαις αὐτὸν ἅπαντα μετ' ἔχθρας ἀκριβοῦς ἐς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ βουλῇ, πεποιηκέναι. ἠξίουν δὲ καὶ ὣς τῷ Καίσαρι συναλλαγῆναι καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς συνήλλασσον αὖθις ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰς ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρήγαγεν ὡς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε συκοφαντῶν εἴτε τῷ ὄντι νομίσας εἴτε περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλὴν μεταφέρων ἐς τὸ σῶμα. ὅ τε λόγος ἐκδραμὼν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἤγειρε πάνδημον, καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γάρ, οἷς τι λογισμοῦ βαθέος ἦν, ᾔδεσαν Καίσαρι συμφέρειν Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλάπτοντα ὅμως περιεῖναι, ἐπίφοβον ὄντα τοῖς φονεῦσιν· ἀποθανόντος

CHAP. V

"While these events were in progress, fellow-soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter. Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not see them in the same light—excepting only Octavian, who behaves ungratefully towards us."[1]

VI

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39. THESE words of Antony convinced the tribunes that in all he had done he had been moved by bitter animosity towards the murderers and that he had been scheming against the Senate. Nevertheless they urged him to come to an agreement with Octavian; and, proving successful, brought about a reconciliation between them in the Capitol. But not long afterward Antony announced to his friends that some of his bodyguard had been tampered with by Octavian, who had formed a plot against him. This he said either as a slander, or because he believed it to be true, or because he had heard of the emissaries of Octavian in his camp, and turned the plot to checkmate his actions into a plot against his life. When this story was noised about there was a general tumult forthwith and great indignation, for there were few who had sufficient penetration to see that it was for the interest of Octavian that Antony, even though he was unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony)

Octavian accused of attempting to assassinate Antony

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[1] Clearly this speech was composed by Appian and put in the mouth of Antony. It contains errors as to dates and as to the order of events which Antony could not have made.

CAP. VI

γὰρ ἀδεέστερον ἐκείνους ἅπασιν ἐπιτολμήσειν, βοηθουμένους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὧδε μὲν εἴκαζον οἱ συνετώτεροι· τὸ δὲ πλέον, ὁρῶντες, οἷα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Καίσαρ ὑβριζόμενός τε καὶ ζημιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ ἄπιστον ἐτίθεντο τὴν διαβολὴν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν ἐνόμιζον Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἐξέτρεχε σὺν ὀργῇ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβόα αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ φιλίαν ἔτι οἱ μόνην οὖσαν· ἐπί τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δραμὼν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβόα καὶ θεοὺς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ ἀρὰς ἠρᾶτο πάσας καὶ ἐς δίκην ἐλθεῖν προυκαλεῖτο. οὐδενὸς δὲ προϊόντος, "ἐν τοῖς φίλοις," ἔφη, "δέχομαι τοῖς σοῖς κριθῆναι," καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπέτρεχεν ἔσω. κωλυθεὶς δὲ αὖθις ᾤμωζε καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θύρας ἠγανάκτει κωλύουσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλεγχθῆναι. ἀπιών τε τὸν δῆμον ἐμαρτύρετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, πρὸς Ἀντωνίου δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε σὺν πάθει πολλῷ μετέπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, καί τις αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγίγνετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὤκνουν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ πιστὸν νέμειν, καί τινες ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφοῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἄρτι ἐν ἱερῷ, μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπινοεῖν εἰς ἀφορμὴν

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was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavian suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul.

He denies the accusation

Octavian ran with mad fury even to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony who was conspiring against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the doorkeepers who prevented Antony being brought to book. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of Antony to

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φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἢ ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρουχιῶν Καίσαρι.

40. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπεσταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπῳκισμένους ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπικουρήσειν, ἂν δύνωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐξῄει διὰ τάδε. δείσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφρούρητον αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν ᾔει, πείσων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύεσθαι, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ᾠκισμένας. καὶ ἔπεισε Καλατίαν πρώτην, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῃ Κασιλῖνον, δύο τάσδε Καπύης ἑκατέρωθεν· ἐπιδοὺς δ' ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἦγεν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, οὔτε ὡπλισμένους ἐντελῶς οὔτε συντεταγμένους πω κατὰ ἴλας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακήν, ὑφ' ἑνὶ σημείῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπανιόντα, ὡς ἐπύθοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεθ' ἑτέρας προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὡς χρησόμενοι κατ' Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρι ἠσμένιζον· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διαλλαγὰς ἑωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονέων.

41. Ὧδε δὲ αὐτῶν θορυβουμένων, Καννούτιος ὁ δήμαρχος, ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ Καίσαρι φίλος, ὑπήντα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐκμαθὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἔχθρας

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increase his body-guard or to alienate the colonies of veterans from Octavian.

Octavian obtains soldiers in Galatia and Casilinum

40. Presently news was brought to Octavian by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundusium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Caesar, and that they would assist him (Octavian) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundusium. As Octavian feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected, he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been settled in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner. The citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavian was advancing with another some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavian against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavian in return was to wreak vengeance on the murderers.

The tribune Cannutius sides with Octavian against Antony

41. In this time of consternation Cannutius, the tribune, an enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavian, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Cannutius addressed the people, saying that Octavian was advancing with real hostility to

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Ἀντωνίου σαφοῦς ἐπιέναι τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδιότας Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι, στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐσῆγε τὸν Καίσαρα, αὐλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερῷ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεὼν τῶν Διοσκούρων παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεὼν περιέστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιεζωσμένοι, Καννούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάθοι, δι' ἃ καὶ τόνδε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἴη συνειλεγμένος· ἔφη τε ἐς πάντα τῆς πατρίδος ὑπηρέτης καὶ κατήκοος ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ νῦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἕτοιμος.

42. Ὧδε δ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύσαντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀφῖχθαι ἢ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν φονέων ἄμυναν, ἤχθοντο τῇ κατ' Ἀντωνίου προαγορεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφῶν γεγονότος καὶ ὄντος ὑπάτου· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ᾔτουν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὡς ὁπλιούμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ὅπλων ἀνέξεσθαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν προσεδόκησε μετενεχθείς, ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ περιέσεσθαι, συνεχώρει ταῖς προφάσεσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ ἁπλῶς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα. πάντας δ', ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθηδόνα, ἐπῄνει τῆς συνόδου καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ἑτέραις δωρεαῖς

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Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavian as they had no other army at present. After speaking thus he brought in Octavian, who was encamped before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Cannutius addressed the people first, speaking against Antony. Afterwards Octavian also reminded them of his father and of what he had himself suffered at the hands of Antony, on account of which he had enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He declared himself the obedient servant of his country in all things, and said that he was ready to confront Antony in the present emergency.

Octavian declares his readiness to confront Antony

42. After he had thus spoken and dismissed the assembly, the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavian or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others hinted at the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavian was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all the assembled multitude, gave them fresh presents, and said that he would reward

Caesar's veterans refuse to fight against Antony

CAP. VI καὶ δαψιλέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις. χιλίους μὲν δὴ μόνους ἢ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμεῖναι (διαφέρονται γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ)· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἐξῄεσαν, ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἃ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν τε εἰλήφεσαν καὶ ὧν ἤλπιζον ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἷόν τε ὄχλος ἀνώμαλος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὡπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανῄεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τήν τε Ῥάβενναν καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα περιῄει, στρατεύων ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἑτέροις· καὶ πάντας ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἔπεμπεν.

VII

CAP. VII 43. Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφῖκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκ πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα· ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέπεμπον ὡς περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενον πρώτου. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς χαλεπτόμενος τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὠνείδιζεν ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθυαίων ὑπὸ οὗ μετενεχθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιᾶσδε χάριτος· ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μειρακίου προπετοῦς, ὧδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν εἰς διαφθορὰν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ.

CHAP. VI them still more generously, for he made use of them for emergencies rather as the friends of his father than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words, he influenced 1000 only from 10,000 to remain with him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the number. The rest then took their departure, but presently they remembered the toils of agriculture and the gains of military service, the words of Octavian, his compliance with their wishes, and the favours they had received and hoped still to receive from him. And so, as a fickle multitude would, they repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavian had already proceeded with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the neighbouring parts, continually enlisting new forces and sending them all to Arretium.

VII

CHAP. VII Mutiny among Antony's troops

43. In the meantime four of the five Macedonian legions had joined Antony at Brundusium. They blamed him because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Caesar. They conducted him without applause to the platform, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that they had expressed no thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called Octavian) who had been sent among them to stir up discord. Those men he would find out himself, he

CAP. VII *ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν αὐτὸς εὑρήσειν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐψηφισμένην οἱ χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικήν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἑκάστῳ δοθήσεσθαι δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐγέλασαν τῆς σμικρολογίας καὶ χαλεπήναντος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθορύβουν καὶ διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ ἐξανέστη τοσοῦτον εἰπών· "μαθήσεσθε ἄρχεσθαι." αἰτήσας δὲ παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων τοὺς στασιώδεις (ἀνάγραπτος γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς* Ῥωμαίων *στρατοῖς αἰεὶ καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος) διεκλήρωσε τῷ στρατιωτικῷ νόμῳ καὶ οὐ τὸ δέκατον ἅπαν, ἀλλὰ μέρος ἔκτεινε τοῦ δεκάτου, νομίζων σφᾶς ὧδε καταπλήξειν δι' ὀλίγου. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐς φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὀργὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ μῖσος ἐτρέποντο.*

44. Ταῦτα *δ' ὁρῶντες οὓς ὁ* Καῖσαρ *ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶνδε προπεπόμφει, βιβλία πολλὰ τότε μάλιστα διερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀντὶ τῆς* Ἀντωνίου *μικρολογίας τε καὶ ὠμότητος ἐς τὴν* Καίσαρος *μνήμην τοῦ προτέρου καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ νῦν καὶ χορηγίας δαψιλεῖς μετατίθεσθαι. οὓς ὁ* Ἀντώνιος *μηνύμασι τε μεγάλοις ἐζήτει, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς, εἴ τις ἐπικρύπτοι. οὐδένα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἐχαλέπηνεν ὡς τοῦ στρατοῦ σφᾶς ἐπικρύπτοντος. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις τε καὶ ἐν* Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι *πεπραγμένων ἐθορυβεῖτο. καὶ ἐπελθὼν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη χαλεπῆναι μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης στρατιωτικῆς ὀλίγοις ἀντὶ πλεόνων ὧν ἐκόλαζεν ὁ νόμος, αὐτοὺς δὲ εἰδέναι σαφῶς οὔτε ὠμὸν οὔτε μικρολόγον* Ἀντώνιον. *"ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν φθόνος οἰχέσθω,*

said; but the army he would lead to the province voted to him, the prosperous Gallic country, and would give 100 drachmas to each man present. They laughed at his parsimony, and when he became angry they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he required the military tribunes to bring before him the seditious characters (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking that he would thus quickly strike terror into them. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act. CHAP. VII

He punishes them

44. In view of these facts the men whom Octavian had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the greatest possible number of handbills throughout the camp, reflecting on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, recalling the memory of the elder Caesar and urging them to share the service of the younger and his liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries by means of rewards to informers and threats against those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed them. When the news came of what Octavian was doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither cruel nor stingy. "Let us lay aside

Octavian excites dissension in Antony's army

CAP. VII

κεκορεσμένος," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι· τὰς δὲ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ δωρεάν (οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης), ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευτικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ δωρεὰν ἐκέλευσα δοθῆναι, καὶ χρὴ νόμῳ πατρίῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτικῷ καὶ ἐς τάδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὐπειθεῖς ὑπάρχειν." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οὐδέν τι ἔτι προσθεὶς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡσσῆσθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐλάμβανον, εἴτε μεταγνόντες εἴτε καὶ δεδιότες. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους, εἴτε μηνίων ἔτι τῆς στάσεως εἴθ' ἑτέρως ὑπονοῶν, ἐνήλλασσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ τἆλλα ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ προύπεμπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τὴν παραθαλάσσιον ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ Ἀριμίνου.

45. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὥδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ὁρμήσων. ἐσῄει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν ἴλην πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους· συνθήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο, καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς μεμψόμενος Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐσιὼν ἤδη μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τέταρτον ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις ἐς

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ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which I have ordered to be given you is not my donative, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but a small dole to mark our first meeting rather than a full reward; but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this affair as in all others." When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the donative, that it might not seem that as general he had yielded anything to the army; but they, whether moved by penitence or by fear, took what was given them. Antony, however, being still angry at the outbreak, or from some other suspicion, changed their tribunes, but the rest of the army he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them forward by detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum.

45. Antony chose from the whole number a praetorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner, leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms, and he gave them a countersign and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavian, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavian. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian

Two of Antony's legions desert to Octavian

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Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὡς δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἕτερα αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ Ἄλβην πόλιν ὡς μεταπείσων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλόμενος δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέλεσι προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ, καὶ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐς Τίβυρον ἐξῄει, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐξιοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη σαφὴς ἦν ο πόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.

46. Δεῦρο δὲ ὄντι ἥ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἅπασα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον· οἳ καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὁρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συνδραμόντας (πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν) συνώμνυον ἑκόντες οὐκ ἐκλείψειν τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ὡς ἀπορῆσαι, τίνες ἦσαν, οἳ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς το Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχή. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρίς γε τῶν νεολέκτων, τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετάπεμπτα (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφῖκτο), ἐξεστρατευμένων δὲ ἕν, οἳ καὶ γηρῶντες ὅμως ἐδόκουν νεοσυλλόγων ἀμείνους ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγίγνετο τέλη γεγυμνασμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον

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and espoused the side of Octavian. Disconcerted as he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur, taking the equipment customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul.

46. While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honour. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavian's public meeting.

Antony departs to Cisalpine Gaul

With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There was also one of discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually

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ἄλλο ἕπεται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰ καὶ τὰ νεόλεκτα. Λέπιδός τε ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τέσσαρα τέλη καὶ Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἐδόκουν αἱρήσεσθαι τὰ Ἀντωνίου.

47. Καίσαρι δε ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα, τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἓν δὲ νεοσυλλόγων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευμένων, οὐκ ἐντελῆ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ὁπλίσεσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυλλόγων καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπληρούμενα. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας ἐς Ἄλβην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἐφήδετο μὲν αὖθις Καίσαρι, ὡς ἀπορεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες ἦσαν, οἳ προὔπεμπον Ἀντώνιον· ἤχθοντο δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπαινέσαντες δ' ὅμως αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἱ νέαι ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ σαφές, ὅτι χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου· στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πω ἔχοντες ἴδιον οὐδὲ καταλέξαι χωρὶς ὑπάτων δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς πάντα ἀνετίθεντο.

48. Τῷ Καίσαρι δ' ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεάς τε καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες, ἠξίουν ἑαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφῆναι, πολέμου τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἄρχουσι ταχθέντων. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπῄνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον

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accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony.

Octavian offers his services to the Senate: they are accepted

47. Octavian had two legions equally efficient, those which had deserted from Antony to him, also one legion of new levies, and two of veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but these also filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavian nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.[1]

48. The soldiers of Octavian furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of propraetor, carrying on war and acting as their leader, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honour, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they

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[1] The new consuls were Hirtius and Pansa. They had been designated in advance by Caesar and succeeded to the office by virtue of the decree of the Senate confirming all Caesar's acts.

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ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀνετίθετο· καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρεῖν ἀθρόους ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐπεῖχεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιουμένης ταῦτα καθ’ ἑαυτήν, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἢν αἴσθωνται τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄκνον.

Διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐς ὑπεροψίαν αὐτὸν αἰτιωμένων, ἐξελογεῖτο αὐτοῖς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορίᾳ, “ μέχρι καθέλωμεν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντες δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν· ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὴ πρότεροι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ὡς προλαβοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὕβριν ἢ βίαν, αἰδεσθεῖσι δ’ ἴσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτοὶ δέει, μὴ παρ’ ὑμῶν λάβοιμι.” τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἐθεᾶτο γυμνάσια τῶν δύο τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ’ Ἀντωνίου, διαστάντων τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ δρώντων ἀφειδῶς ἔργα πολέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνον θάνατον. ἡσθεὶς οὖν τῇ θέᾳ καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπιβαίνων ἄσμενος, ἑτέρας αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐπεδίδου καί, εἴ τις πολέμου χρεία γένοιτο, νικήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακισχιλίας. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλείᾳ δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

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wanted to go before the Senate *en masse* he prevented them and would not even allow them to send messengers, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; "and all the more," he said, "if they know of your zeal and my hesitation."

They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; "and that will be the case," he continued, "until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you." After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavian was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavian bind these mercenaries to himself.

Military manœuvres of Octavian's legions

VIII

CAP. VIII

49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κελτικῇ τὸν Δέκμον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετιέναι, πειθόμενόν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ φειδόμενον ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὸν δῆμον εἴκειν οἷ πρέπον ἢ διὰ τὴν βουλὴν Ἀντωνίῳ μᾶλλον. Ἀντωνίου δ' αὐτῷ προθεσμίαν ὁρίζοντος, μεθ' ἣν ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσεται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὁρίζειν ἑαυτῷ, μὴ θᾶσσον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιος. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐμαρῶς ἂν αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι ὄντος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔκρινε προελθεῖν. αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δείσας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ οὐδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἔς τινα αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάσσεται γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλούσης αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἐχώρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπιόντα πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα, τάς τε πύλας ἀπέκλειε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μουτιναίων ἐς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποζύγιά τε ὅσα ἦν κατέθυε καὶ ἐταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος ἡ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπέμενε. στρατιὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε πλῆθος καὶ ὁπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὧν ἓν μὲν ἦν ἀρτιστρατεύτων ἀνδρῶν ἔτι ἀπείρων, δύο δέ, ἃ καὶ πρότερον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀργῇ τὴν Μουτίνην ἀπετάφρευέ τε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε.

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Antony orders D. Brutus to withdraw from Cisalpine Gaul

49. Such was the course of events in Italy. In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own safety. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest Antony should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing that he for his part should now be unable to enter any of them, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, admitted by all as they thought he was departing, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina.[1] Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, and drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina.

Decimus retires to Mutina and Antony besieges him there

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[1] The modern Modena.

CAP. VIII

50. Καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον νουμηνίαν ὕπατοι γενόμενοι Ἵρτιός τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ συνῆγον ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος φίλοι πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ἤδη ψηφίσασθαι, τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον ὅπλοις καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾷκας αὐτῷ δεδομένον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαγαγόντα· ἐπελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα προαίρεσιν, ἔν τε τῇ πόλει φανερῶς δορυφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶνδε λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἄκραν ὅπλοις καὶ συνθήμασι κεχρημένου καὶ τἆλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχήν. Λεύκιος δὲ Πείσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανής, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσωνι δι' αὐτὸν ἢ δι' Ἀντώνιον ἢ κατ' οἰκείαν γνώμην προσετίθεντο, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν ἠξίουν, ὡς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου καταδικάζειν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ χθὲς ὑπάτου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὗ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτὸς εἶπε πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἀγχώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα περιῆλθον, ἅμα δ' ἕῳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελέγοντο· ἔνθα τῶν Κικερωνείων ἐπιβαρούντων ἐψήφιστο ἂν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμιος, εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλουιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν

CHAP. VIII
B.C. 43

Cicero urges that Antony be declared a public enemy

50. Decimus, then, was besieged: but at Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been performed and in the very temple. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of his seeking the supreme power as Caesar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with arms and countersigns, and had borne himself more haughtily in other respects than was befitting a yearly magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interest in his absence, a man among the most illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to have a trial, that it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom Cicero himself as well as the rest had so often lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session till night. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day;

The tribune Salvius interposes in favour of Antony

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ἐκέλευσεν ἀναθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁ κωλύων ἀεὶ δυνατώτερος.

51. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μάλα φορτικῶς ὠνείδιζόν τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκδραμόντες ἠρέθιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐξέτρεχεν, ἕως ἡ βουλὴ κατέσχε δείσασα, μὴ μεταπείσειε τὸν δῆμον ἐς μνήμην ἀγαγὼν Ἀντωνίου. οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ δίκης οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ δεδώκει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὠργίζοντο πρώτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἀνακινήσαντι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐς αὐτὸν προκατεχρῶντο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ᾑρεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμως προκαθελεῖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. τοιᾷδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ γνώμῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχεν ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευεν, ἐψηφίσαντο ὅμως Δέκμον τε ἐπαινέσαι οὐκ ἐκστάντα Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἱρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσᾳ Καίσαρα συστρατηγεῖν οὗ νῦν ἔχει στρατοῦ, ἐπίχρυσόν τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετιέναι τοῦ νόμου θᾶσσον ἔτεσι δέκα, ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσιν, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὡς

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for among the magistrates the one who has the veto always prevails.

Debate in the Senate

51. The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults on Salvius for this, and hastening out tried to excite the people against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should cause the people to change by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously called in the help of Octavian against him. Although Octavian knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavian to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he promised to give them if they should be victorious.

After passing these decrees they adjourned, that

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τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔργῳ διὰ τῶνδε εἰδέναι πολέμιον ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντεροῦντα· Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἔτι μειράκιον οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας διέθεον ἱκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰόντας ἠνώχλουν, ῥιπτούμενοί τε πρὸ ποδῶν σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς καὶ μελαίνῃ στολῇ παρὰ θύραις ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰφνιδίου γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δείσας δ’ ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουληγόρησεν ὧδε.

52. “ Ἃ μὲν ἔδει γνῶναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἐχθὲς ἔγνωμεν· οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμῶμεν, τούτοις ἐψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον. Σάλουιον δὲ τὸν μόνον ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον ἢ πάντων εἶναι χρὴ συνετώτερον ἢ φιλίᾳ τάδε πράσσειν ἢ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἀμαθίᾳ. ὧν τὸ μὲν αἴσχιστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ δόξομεν ἀσυνετώτεροι πάντες ἑνὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ Σαλουίῳ, εἰ φιλίαν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμῴη· ἀμαθῶς δ’ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πιστεύειν ὑπάτοις ἀνθ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς, οἳ τοσοίδε τὴν ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διά τε ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ὑπὲρ τὸν Σάλουιον, καταγινώσκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι δ’ ἔν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαις αἰεὶ τὸ πλέον δικαιότερον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῄζει τὰς αἰτίας

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Antony might in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and beseeching them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the senate-house, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as follows :—

Cicero's speech

52. “ What decision ought to be reached concerning Antony we determined yesterday. When we bestowed honours on his enemies we thereby voted him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the proceedings, must either have been wiser than all the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with the present circumstances he ought to repose confidence in the consuls, rather than himself, in the praetors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so much his superiors in age and experience, who condemn Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons

CAP. VIII μαθεῖν, λελέξεται διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐν ἀναμνήσει, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν.

“Τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀντώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ὥρμησε χωρὶς ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾷκας λαβὼν ἀντὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἑκάτερα τούτων αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ οὐ λαβὼν ἔπραξε δι' ἑαυτοῦ. σπεῖραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ βασιλικὴν συνέταξεν ἀμφ' αὑτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἐδορυφόρουν τε καὶ ἐνυκτοφυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι. ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα, συντομώτερον ἐφιέμενος ὧν ἐπενόει Καῖσαρ· Καίσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ φθάσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὁρμητήριον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐδυνάστευσεν ἡμῶν.

53. “Τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταπλησσόμενος, ἵνα πρὸς μηθὲν αὐτῷ παρανομοῦντι κατοκνῇ, διεκλήρωσεν ἐς θάνατον, οὐ στασιάσαντας ἢ φυλακὴν ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ' ὧν μόνων ὁ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ὠμὴν ὥρισε τιμωρίαν, καὶ ὅμως αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης· ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἢ γέλωτος ἦγεν ἐς θάνατον τοὺς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον οὐ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνηθέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς εὖ

for our action I will briefly recount the principal ones by way of reminder. CHAP. VIII

“At Caesar's death Antony possessed himself of our money. Having been invested with the government of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having received an army to operate against the Thracians he brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of these powers he asked from us for his own secret motives, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundusium he organized a royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-at-arms his private guards and night-watchmen, serving under a countersign. The whole remainder of the army he led from Brundusium to the city, aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that Caesar contemplated. Being anticipated by the younger Caesar and his army he became alarmed and turned his course to the Gallic province as a convenient point of attack on us, because Caesar had used it as his base when he made himself our master.

53. “In order to intimidate the soldiers to do every unlawful act he should order, he decimated them although they had not revolted and had not abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of war, for which offences alone military law allows such cruel punishment, which only a few generals have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance, in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity. These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a laugh; a death, moreover, of men not regularly condemned but merely chosen by lot. For this reason those who could do so revolted from him, and

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πράξασι δωρεὰς χθὲς ἐψηφίσασθε· οἱ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολιορκοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμέτερον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμέτερον, ᾧ γράφετε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ, Ἀντώνιος δ' ἐξιέναι κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον ψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ἢ Ἀντώνιος ἡμᾶς ἤδη πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἄρα Δέκμου πεσόντος ἥ τε χώρα τοσήδε οὖσα καὶ ὅμορος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ Δέκμου στρατὸς ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας Ἀντωνίῳ προσγένηται. τότε γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ δήμαρχος ψηφιεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν ἡμῶν γένηται δυνατώτερος."

54. *Ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος οἱ φίλοι θορυβοῦντες ἀπαύστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, μέχρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἥ τε ἄλλη βουλὴ κατ' αἰδῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡσύχασε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἠνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων· " ὁ μὲν νόμος, ὦ βουλή, δικαιοῖ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαί τε τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι· καὶ τὸν δεινότατον εἰπεῖν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα προκαλοῦμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀκνεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματά τινα εἶπεν ὡς μέγιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὄντα, παρῆλθον ἐγὼ δείξων αὐτὰ ψευδῆ βραχυτάταις ἀπο-*

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you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. Those who could not desert joined him in wrongdoing under the influence of fear, marched against our province as enemies, and besieged our army and our general, to whom you send letters directing him to hold the province, while Antony now orders him to evacuate it. Are we voting Antony an enemy, or is he already making war against us? And these things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this great province on our border, together with the army of Decimus, is added to the resources with which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that the tribune will vote Antony an enemy only as soon as he becomes our master."[1]

54. While Cicero was yet speaking his friends broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a long time nobody could be heard on the other side, until finally Piso came forward, when the senators, out of respect for him, became silent and even the Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said: "Our law, Senators, requires that the accused shall himself hear the charge preferred against him and shall be judged after he has made his own defence; and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest orator. Since, however, he hesitates to accuse Antony when present, but brings against him in his absence certain charges which he considers of the greatest gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are

Piso defends Antony

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[1] The fifth Philippic of Cicero was delivered in the Senate on the first day of January, 43, and the sixth to a popular assembly on the fourth day of the same month. They bear only slight resemblance to this speech.

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κρίσεσι. τὰ χρήματά φησιν Ἀντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος τελευτὴν σφετερίσασθαι, τοῦ μὲν νόμου τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ ὡρισμένῃ δίκῃ ζημιοῦντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρα κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τόδε κατηγορήσαντος, ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε καὶ κενὰ καταλέλοιπε τὰ ταμιεῖα, Ἀντωνίου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ζητεῖν αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων καὶ γέρας τοῖς μηνύουσι δεκάτην ὑπεσχημένων, ἣν διπλασιάσομεν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τις Ἀντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

55. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων· τὴν δὲ Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφισάμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς Ἀντωνίῳ, ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δῆμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρωνος, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ἕτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάλαι. μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ παραχωροῦντι πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀντὶ Θρᾳκῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. ἀλλὰ Κικέρων Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον, ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὅπλα, Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολέμιον, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αἰτιᾶται· οὓς ἔδει μεταπείθειν, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ὅ τι ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ εὖ βουλευομένων ἐστὶ

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false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Caesar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Caesar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud.

55. "So much for the charge in reference to money. We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, but the people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously been given to Caesar. It was a part of this law that, when Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is entrenching himself against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting on the side of the law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them. He ought not to entrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to entrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good

CAP. VIII διαστασιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐν καιροῖς μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνοις οὐδὲ ἀμνημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν, τὸ κρίνειν τὰ φίλια καὶ πολέμια. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι νόμων ὁ δῆμος αὐτοκράτωρ εἰρήνης πέρι καὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὧν μηδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιστήσειε μηδὲ ἐπιμηνίσειεν ἡμῖν, προστάτου λαβόμενος.

56. "Ἀλλ' ἔκτεινέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὢν καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεχειροτονημένος. καὶ οὐδείς πω τῶνδε λόγον ὑπέσχεν αὐτοκράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι· οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀπειθείας τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἣν καὶ νικῶντές τινες ἀνῃρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὔθυνε τοὺς ἀνελόντας. οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενὴς οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φόνου κατηγορῶν πολέμιον κοινὸν ἀντὶ τῶν ὡρισμένων ἐπιτιμίων τοῖς φονεῦσι τίθεται. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅπως τε ἄτακτον ἦν καὶ ὅπως κατεφρόνει, δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ μεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε Ἀντωνίῳ στρατεύειν, αὐτομολήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων ὅμως ἐπῄνεσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθὲς ἐμισθοδότησε· καὶ μή ποτε ὑμᾶς λυπήσειε τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἡ ἔχθρα· κατηγορεῖ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, ἀεὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατεύματα θεραπευόντων, οὐ κολαζόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ὤκνησεν οὐδε

counsellors to be at variance with the people, especially in times of danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged to the people. According to the ancient laws the people are the sole arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they may not be reminded of this, and consequently be angry with us when they have found a leader. CHAP. VIII

56. "But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever yet rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers. The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony's army was—legions which you have voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavian. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not

CAP. VIII τὴν ἄλλην Ἀντωνίου μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε πύθωμαι καθ᾽ ἕκαστον ὧδε.

57. "Τίνα ἔκτεινεν ὡς τύραννος ἄκριτον ὁ νῦν κινδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δ᾽ ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως; τίνα δὲ ὑμῖν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ᾽ ἕνα μὲν τοιόσδε ἦν, ἐπεβούλευε δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ; πότε, ὦ Κικέρων; ὅτε τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐκύρου τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε μηδένα διώκεσθαι φόνου; ἢ ὅτε ζήτησιν εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐπῃνέσατε πάντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δι᾽ ὑμᾶς οὐ διέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἢ νηποινεὶ πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθνῄσκειν; ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ἃ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἡμῖν Ἀντώνιος ἐν δύο μησίν, οἷς μόνοις ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Καίσαρα, ἄρτι μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντος, ἄρτι δὲ ὑμῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις· οὗ τίνα καιρόν, εἰ πονηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείνονα εἶχεν;

"Ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὰ ἐναντία· οὐκ ἦρχε. πῶς; οὐ μόνος ἦρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα ; οὐ

hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of Antony's administration since Caesar's death, come, let me examine his acts one by one. CHAP. VIII

57. "Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial—he who is now in danger of being condemned himself without trial? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public accounts? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompeius the son of your Pompeius, and payment for his father's confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded, and because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate? Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by anyone who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months, the only months that he remained in the city after Caesar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had?

"But, you will say, the fact is quite the other way: he was not in authority. What? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed

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στρατὸν εἶχεν ἕτοιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὑφ᾿ ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένον; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλήν; οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος, φίλου τέ οἱ καὶ εὐεργέτου ὄντος καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντος; οὐχ ἑτέραν εἶχεν οἰκείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένος ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ὧν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἢ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα, συνέγνω δέ, ὅσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδομένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἀναμφίλογα Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὁρᾶτε· 58. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ μαντεύματα ἐπάγουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσειε δὲ προλαβόντος αὐτὴν ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου, τὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἡμῖν ἀσήμαντον οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον; πῶς δ', εἴπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἀφίκετο; ἢ τρισμυρίους ἔχων συντεταγμένους ἔδεισε τρισχιλίους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντας ἀνόπλους, ἀσυντάκτους, ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ εὐθύς, ὡς ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἱρούμενον, καταλιπόντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἐλθεῖν ἔδεισε, πῶς ἦλθε μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Τίβυρον ἐξιόντα πόσοι προεπέμπομεν καὶ πόσοι συνώμνυμεν οὐχ ὁρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων ἐπαίνους ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ' αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον

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for Syria? Did he not keep an armed force that you gave him in readiness in the city? Did he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Caesar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? Yet none of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them.

"You behold then, Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony. 58. But since in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavian had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that, when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy, the one who actually comes and encamps alongside of us without emblems of authority is not regarded by Cicero as an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavian's 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these what a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such

CHAP. VIII ἐγίγνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ νῦν ὄντα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν; μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μειράκιον υἱόν; οἳ κλαίουσι καὶ δεδίασι νῦν οὐ τὴν Ἀντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυναστείαν.

59. "Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξενήνοχα δεῖγμα τῆς Ἀντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μεταβολῆς· παραίνεσιν δ' ἐπιθήσω τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι μήτε ἐς τὸν δῆμον μήτε ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἁμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἔχθρας καὶ κινδύνους ἐπάγειν τοῖς κοινοῖς, νοσούσης ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀπορούσης τῶν ὀξέως ἀμυνούντων, δύναμιν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συστησαμένους, πρὶν θορυβῆσαί τι τῶν ἔξω, τὴν ἀρκέσουσαν, τότε τοῖς ἑκάστοτε ἐπείγουσιν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ κρίνειν, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε, δυναμένους τὸ κεκριμένον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταῦτα; ἐὰν Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἐῶμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἢ χάριν τοῦ δήμου τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν ὧν ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετέστη, καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω γὰρ πέντε τελῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ψηφιζοίμεθα ἄν, ὅ τι δοκιμάζοιμεν, ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐλπίδας αἰωρούμενοι.

60. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ φιλονικίας ἀκροωμένοις· τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπαρασκεύως δι' οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἐκθορυβοῦσιν ὑμᾶς κριτὰς παραινῶ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἄνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ

thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up son, who are even now at the door of the Senate-house weeping and fearful, not on account of the policy of Antony, but of the overwhelming power of his enemies. CHAP. VIII

59. "These facts I have now brought before you as proof of Antony's defence and of Cicero's fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavian to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favour of no man.

60. "I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and inconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages,

CAP. VIII στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντας ἱκανῆς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμοῦν, ἀναμιμνησκομένους Μαρκίου τε τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔναγχος δὴ ταῦτα Καίσαρος, ὃν στρατιᾶς ὁμοίως ἡγούμενον καὶ σπονδὰς ἀρίστας ἂν ἡμῖν γενομένας προτείνοντα προπετῶς πολέμιον ψηφισάμενοι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιον ἠναγκάσαμεν γενέσθαι, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸ βραχέος τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς Καίσαρος ἐπιδραμόντος, μὴ ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ δοκῶμεν τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν διδόναι, Δέκμον δὲ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου νόμον ἀκυροῖ, καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμιον κρίνειν, ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ὧν τοὺς μὲν εὖ βουλευομένους ἐνθυμεῖσθαι χρὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔτι πλανωμένων, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπάτους καὶ δημάρχους πλείονας κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς κοινοῖς γενέσθαι."

61. Ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ὠνείδιζεν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αἴτιος ἐγένετο μὴ ψηφισθῆναι πολέμιον Ἀντώνιον. οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε τῆς Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν σφαγέων φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέους ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι τὸν φόνον Καίσαρι συναλλαγείς· διὸ καὶ στασιάζειν αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζον Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον. ἐψηφίσαντο δ᾽ Ἀντωνίῳ προαγορεῦσαι Μακεδονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐντολάς, εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτ᾽ ἐξεπίτηδες, Κικέρωνα συγγράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι προσέταξαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην παραφέρων συνέγραφεν ὧδε· Μουτίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ἀπανίστασθαι

who command strong armies, and not to force them into war against their will. Remember Marcius Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Caesar, whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like manner leading an army and offering us the fairest terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an enemy in deed. Have regard for the people who were lately pursuing Caesar's murderers, lest we seem to insult them by giving those murderers the governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for nullifying the people's law, and by voting Antony an enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of the country ought to take thought for the erring, and the consuls and tribunes ought to multiply their activities[1] in view of the public dangers." CHAP. VIII

61. Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his enemies and alarming them. He was evidently the cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in securing for him the governorship of the Gallic province. The friends and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join Octavian in avenging the murder, for which reason they meant to keep Octavian and Antony always at variance with each other. They voted to offer Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province, and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, that the other commands of the Senate be reduced to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows: "Antony must raise the siege of Mutina forthwith,

The Senate orders Antony to desist from the siege of Mutina

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[1] The text is probably corrupt. Compare perhaps the French *se multiplier*: "to be a host in oneself."

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καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν μεθιέναι, ἐντὸς δὲ Ῥουβίκωνος ποταμοῦ, τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁρίζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς, ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ γενόμενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντα τῇ βουλῇ. οὕτω μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐντολὰς ὁ Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσῆσδε ὑπούσης, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρωνι κακῶς ἐπινοοῦντος. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίου λειψάνων κομισθέντων καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως γνωσθείσης ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

62. Οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσβεις, αἰδούμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἀλλόκοτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἔφασαν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος σὺν ὀργῇ πολλὰ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡγοῦνται τύραννον ἢ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν εἷλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φονέας προτίθησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν ὄντα φίλον ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα λαβόντι τὴν Κελτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ

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relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to the hither side of the river Rubicon (which forms the boundary between Italy and the province) before a specified day, and submit himself in all things to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did Cicero write the orders of the Senate, not by reason of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation of some evil spirit that was goading the republic to revolution and meditating destruction to Cicero himself.[1] The remains of Trebonius having been lately brought home and the indignities visited upon him more carefully inquired into, the Senate with little opposition declared Dolabella a public enemy.

62. The ambassadors who nad been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was astonished," he said, "that they should consider Caesar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Caesar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Caesar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Caesar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favours a man who took the province of Gaul after Caesar's death without authority, and makes war on one who received it at the hands of

Antony's reply

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[1] The statement that Cicero falsified the message of the Senate to Antony is untrue. Cicero was vehemently opposed to sending ambassadors to Antony, and in favour of an immediate declaration of war and the levying of troops against him.

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τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολεμεῖ. “τῶν τε ἐψηφισμένων μοι τελῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτομολήσασι γέρα δίδωσι, τοῖς δὲ παραμείνασιν οὔ, διαφθείρων οὐκ ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ᾗ κἀγὼ συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἄνδρας αἰδεσίμους· Ἀντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἡγεῖται πολεμίους, ὅτι τῶν δεδομένων ἐχόμεθα. ἥδε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς αἰτία· κἂν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὔτε πολέμιος οὔτε μόναρχός εἰμι. ταῦτα μέντοι μαρτύρομαι λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνηστίαν.”

63. Τοιάδε *πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραφε τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἂν ἐς ἅπαντα ὡς πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράψαντι τὰς ἐντολὰς ὧδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι· “ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκέ μοι τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμῳ, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθοῦντα τῷ νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτήσω μόνον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καθαρεύσῃ ποτὲ τοῦ μύσους, ἐμπιπλαμένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα.” τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἶπέ τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ στρατόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταῖεν αὐτοῦ· Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μᾶρκον Βροῦτον ἄρχειν, μέχρι κατασταίη τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἴδιόν τε εἶχεν ἤδη στρατὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου τινὰ προσει-*

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the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two men who deserve respect. He holds Dolabella and myself as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor autocrat! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied."

63. After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he made the following answer: "The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit with punishment for the murder him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero's support of Decimus, may at last be purged of such pollution." These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply.[1] The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him, if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be re-established. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apuleius. He also had

The Senate votes him a public enemy

Macedonia voted to Brutus and Syria to Cassius

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[1] Antony's reply is quoted by Cicero with a running comment in the eighth Philippic (8–9.)

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λήφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε μακράς τε καὶ ὁλκάδας καὶ χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ ὅπλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν Δημητριάδι Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ γιγνόμενα εὗρεν· οἷς ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ τότε ἐψηφίζετο ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος χρῆσθαι. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἄρχειν τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλᾳ· τούς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι τινὸς ἔθνους ἢ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, πάντας ὑπακούειν ἐς ὅ τι προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βροῦτος.

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64. Ὧδε μὲν ὀξέως σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐξελάμπρυνον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἠπόρητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμνηστίαν ἡγούμενος εὐπρέπειαν ἐσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἔλεον συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων, καὶ τὰς βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν· Δέκμῳ τε τὴν Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ τυραννίδος διαφέρεσθαι, ᾧ προσποιήματι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ' Ἀντωνίου· τὸ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι δι' ἕνα τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἔθνη διαλλάξαι στρατόπεδά τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἀποφῆναι πάντων, ὅσοι πέραν εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν μὲν Πομπηίου μοῖραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος

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war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 talents in money, and quantities of arms which he found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by Gaius Caesar long before, all of which the Senate now voted that he should use for the advantage of the republic. They voted that Cassius should be governor of Syria and that he should make war against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus in all things.

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Octavian alarmed by the action of the Senate

64. Thus quickly did the Senate seize the opportunity to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a brilliant aspect. When Octavian learned what had been done he was troubled. He had considered the amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, and that the very small commands had been given them for their safety merely; finally, the confirming of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to have been done by reason of the Senate's difference with Antony respecting the supreme power, on which ground also they were inciting him against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy because he had put one of the murderers to death, the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the largest provinces, the granting of great armies and large sums of money to them and putting them in command of all the governors beyond the Adriatic sea—all pointed plainly to the building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling

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καθαιρούντων. ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς μειράκιον τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὄντα ἀφαιρουμένων· ὑπάτων γὰρ συστρατηγούντων οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον· τά τε γέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστᾶσιν ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς αὐτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμοῦν· καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως αὐτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἔχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἀποχρῆσθαί οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι καθέλωσιν αὐτόν.

65. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύων ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη· "καὶ τάδε μοι παρ' ὑμῶν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, γέγονεν, οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδίδοτε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς ἔδωκεν. ὥστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων ἴστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσοντα καί, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχωσιν εὐπραγεῖν, ἀποδώσοντα ἀθρόως".

Ὁ μὲν οὑτωσὶ τὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ὑπήγετο, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξενάγει, Ἵρτιος δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἐμερίζετο καί, ὡς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ᾔτει τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὄντα τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἅπαντα συνεχώρει, μερισάμενοι δὲ ἐχείμαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων· παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη Δέκμος μὲν ἔκαμνεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ,

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down of that of Caesar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of propraetor, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a propraetor has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed.

65. Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army: "I owe these honours of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings."

In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavian, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavian yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and Hirtius

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Ἵρτιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ἐχώρουν, μὴ κάμνοντα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος παραλάβοι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυλασσομένης ὑπὸτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πανσυδὶ μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἱππομαχίαι δ' ἦσαν πυκναί, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἱππέας ἔχοντος Ἀντωνίου· τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ χειμάρρους ἐκτεταφρευμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεστέρει.

66. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἦγεν ὑπὸ δημοκοπίας· καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι, ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο συναγαγὼν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς ἀμισθὶ καὶ χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυτάτας ἐσφορὰς τοῖς Ἀντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθει. οἱ δὲ ἑτοίμως ἐσέφερον ἐκλυόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ φίλος ὤν, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς Καίσαρος ἀποικίας ἐκδραμὼν ὡς γνώριμος δύο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεστράτευσε τέλη καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἠπείγετο. τότε μὲν δὴ θόρυβός τε ἦν ἄπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλείους μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαθὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε. διακλειόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἱρτίου ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα παρῆλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλλογίσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

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Octavian Hirtius and Pansa march to the relief of Decimus

and Octavian advanced towards Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army which was now weak with famine; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

Activity of Cicero in Rome

66. Such was the course of events round Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the armourers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Caesar and who was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Caesar's colonies, where he was well known, and brought over two legions to Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his course towards Antony, but being intercepted by Octavian and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen.[1]

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[1] This tale, in so far as it relates to Cicero, must be entirely fictitious, since nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Philippics, although Ventidius is mentioned twice after his supposed march upon Rome to arrest Cicero.

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Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ στρατιᾶς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλήιον αὐτῷ προσέπεμπον ἄγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ τὸ Ἄρειον τέλος ἐς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ κωλύσων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμίᾳ δὲ ἀγῶνος, οὐκ ἔχων τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδίον ἑλωδέστερον ὂν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε τέλη τὰ ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἕλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποιήτου καὶ στενῆς οὔσης, ἑκατέρωθεν τῷ δόνακι κρύπτων.

67. Καρσουληίου δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς διαδραμόντων, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείοις καὶ πέντε ἄλλαις τάξεσιν ἐς τὴν χειροποίητον ὁδὸν ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρεύουσαν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ ἕλος ἑκατέρωθεν ὂν περισκεπτομένων, ὅ τε δόναξ διακινούμενος ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ ἀσπὶς ἤδη που καὶ κράνος ἐξέλαμπε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς Ἀντωνίου τάξις αὐτοῖς αἰφνίδιον ἐπεφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δ' Ἄρειοι περιειλημμένοι τε πάντοθεν καὶ οὐδαμόσε διαδραμεῖν ἔχοντες ἐκέλευον τοὺς νεήλυδας εἰ παραγένοιντο, μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ὡς μὴ συνταράξειαν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατηγίδι δὲ Ἀντωνίου τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς δύο διαιρεθέντες ἐνέβαινον ἐς ἑκάτερον ἕλος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεστάτουν τῇ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῇ δὲ ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἑλῶν ὄντων δύο ἦσαν οἱ πόλεμοι, τῇ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γινώσκειν τὰ ἀλλήλων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν δίοδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν. γνώμη δὲ ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς

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When Pansa was drawing near with his army, Octavian and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with Octavian's praetorian cohort and the Martian legion to assist him in passing through the defile. Antony had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no other purpose than to hinder the enemy; but, eager to fight, and having no chance to win distinction with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by the reeds and where the road, which had been thrown up artificially, was narrow.

Battle between Antony and the consul Pansa

67. Carsuleius and Pansa hurried through the defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the high road above mentioned, which was still free from enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. There was a suspicious agitation of the rushes, then a gleam here and there of shield and helmet, and Antony's praetorian cohort suddenly shewed itself directly in their front. The Martian legion, surrounded on all sides and having no way to escape, ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in the fight lest they should cause confusion by their inexperience. The praetorians of Octavian confronted the praetorians of Antony. The other troops divided themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in two marshes, and neither division could see the other by reason of the elevated road, while along the road itself the praetorian cohorts fought another battle of their own. The Antonians were determined to

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Ἀρείους ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτομολίας οἷα προδότας σφῶν γενομένους, τοῖς δ' Ἀρείοις ἐκείνους τῆς ὑπεροψίας τῶν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διεφθαρμένων. συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλοις τὸ κράτιστον ὡς εἴη τῆς ἑκατέρου στρατιᾶς, ἤλπιζον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰδὼς ἦν τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὖσιν δι' ἑνὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ φιλοτιμία μόνοις τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.

68. Οὕτω μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπῄεσαν διωργισμένοι τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἰκεῖον ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἠλάλαξαν ὡς οὐκ ἐκπλήξοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσώμενος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὡς ἐν ἕλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς ἑτέρους ὤσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὡς ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγή τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ βοῆς· ὅ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἐδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων διίσταντο καὶ αὖθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.

69. Πονουμένων δὲ ὧδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἡ μὲν στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἀρείων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσου-

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punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to themselves. The Martians were equally determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundusium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either army, they hoped to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two.

68. Thus urged on by animosity and ambition they assailed each other, considering this their own affair rather than that of their generals. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging amid marshes and ditches, they met together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

69. All put forth superhuman exertions, and the praetorians of Octavian perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius

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ληίῳ μᾶλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδόντων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πάνσᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαροῦντο, διεκαρτέρουν δ' ὅμως ἐπ' ἴσης ἑκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας ὀβελῷ τὴν λαγόνα τρωθεὶς ἐς Βονωνίαν ἐξεφέρετο. τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρουν, ἐπὶ πόδα πρῶτον, εἶτα μεταβαλόντες ὀξύτερον ὡς ἐν φυγῇ. καὶ οἱ νεήλυδες ἰδόντες ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο ὁ ταμίας Τορκουᾶτος συνεστώσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης, ὑπονοήσας ἐν χρείᾳ γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεήλυδες ἐς αὐτὸ ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἰταλοὶ μὲν ὄντες ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις· ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις ἄρα τοῦ γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῇ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἄρειοι οὐκ ἐσῆλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸ ἔστησαν· κατάκοποι δὲ ὄντες ὤργων ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐπίοι, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τέλους διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὡς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεήλυσιν ἐπιδραμὼν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

70. Ἵρτιος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος, ἑξήκοντα στάδια ἀπεχούσης, ἵετο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων. ἤδη τε ἦν ὀψία δείλη, καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπανῄεσαν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἵρτιος ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν ἐπιφαίνεται συντεταγμένος ὁλοκλήρῳ τέλει καὶ ἀπαθεῖ. οἱ δὲ συνετάχθησαν μὲν αὖθις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο· οἷα δὲ

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got the better of those opposed to them, who gave way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but they held out with equal bravery on both sides until Pansa was wounded in the side by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers retired, at first step by step, but afterwards they turned and hurried as if in flight. When the new levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud cries, to their camp, which the quaestor, Torquatus, had put in readiness for them while the battle was in progress, apprehending that it might be needed. The new levies crowded into it confusedly although they were Italians, as well as the Martians; so much more does training contribute to bravery than race; but the Martians for fear of shame did not enter into the camp, but ranged themselves near it. Although fatigued they were still furious and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack them. Antony refrained from attacking the Martians as being a troublesome business, but he fell upon the new levies and made a great slaughter.

Pansa is wounded and his men retire to their camp

70. When Hirtius, near Mutina, heard of this fight, at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither with the other legion that had deserted from Antony. It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph. While they were in loose order Hirtius made his appearance in perfect order with his legion complete and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line under compulsion, and performed against this foe also many splendid deeds of valour; but being wearied by their recent exertions they were overcome by the fresh army opposed to them, and the

Hirtius comes to the rescue and defeats Antony

CAP. IX ἀκμήτων ἡσσῶντο κεκμηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἱρτίου διέφθειρε, καίπερ οὐ διώκοντος αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἑλῶν, καὶ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἤδη μελαινομένης διέλυσεν αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ ἕλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὅπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡμιθνήτων καὶ τετρωμένων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατεφρόνουν. ἱππέες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου περιθέοντες, ὅσοι παρήσπιζον αὐτῷ, δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνετίθεντο ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχάζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὧδε μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέφθαρτο ἡ ἰσχὺς διὰ Ἵρτιον ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ηὐλίσατο ἐν κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀχαρακώτως· Ἀγορὰ Κελτῶν ἡ κώμη καλεῖται. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἑκατέρων, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα, Ἱρτίου δὲ ὀλίγοι.

X

CAP. X 71. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἀνεζεύγνυον ἐς τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ στρατόπεδα πάντες. γνώμη δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσῷδε πταίσματι μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μεγάλῃ μάχῃ μηδ' ἐπιόντων ἀμύνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τὰ ἐφήμερα μόνα αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλεῖν, μέχρι παραδῴη Δέκμος αὑτὸν ἐς ἔσχατον ἤδη λιμοῦ τετρυμένος, Ἱρτίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκτάσσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐπεξῆγεν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς

greater part of them were slain in this encounter by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness was coming on he allowed them to escape. A wide stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses, wounded men, and half-dead men, and some even who were unhurt mistrusted their strength by reason of their fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he had with him, went to their assistance and collected them through the entire night. Some they put on horseback in their own places, others they took on the horses with themselves, still others they urged to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's forces, after he had fought splendidly, destroyed by the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without entrenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum Gallorum. Antony and Pansa each lost about one-half of their men. The whole of Octavian's praetorian cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight. CHAP. IX

X

71. THE next day they all withdrew to the camps at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony decided not to come to a general engagement with his enemies at present, not even if they should attack him, but merely to harass them daily with his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to extremity by famine, should surrender. For this very reason Hirtius and Octavian decided to push on a fight. As Antony would not come out when they offered battle, they moved toward the other CHAP. X

Octavian and Hirtius defeat Antony at Mutina

CAP. X

Μουτίνης ἀφυλακτότερα ὄντα διὰ δυσχέρειαν ἐχώρουν ὡς βιασόμενοι βαρεῖ στρατῷ παρεσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐξήπτετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τότε μόνοις. ἀμυνομένων δὲ κἀκείνων αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς χωρούσης, ἐφ' ἃ ἐβούλοντο, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐξῆγε δύο τέλη· οἱ δὲ ἡσθέντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἄλλα δὲ Ἀντωνίου τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὧν βραδέως ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἰόντων ἐκράτουν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ μάχῃ. Ἵρτιος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσδραμὼν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχεν, ἕως μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξεώσθη πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. διενυκτέρευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἑκάτεροι.

72. Καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος δευτέρᾳ τῇδε συμπεσὼν πληγῇ συνεβουλεύετο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῆς προτέρας αὐτὸν γνώμης ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα· τό τε γὰρ πάθος ὅμοιον ἀμφοῖν γεγονέναι καὶ Ἵρτιον ἀνῃρῆσθαι καὶ Πάνσαν νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφῖχθαι λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδώσειν. ὧδε μὲν ἤρεσκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἤδη θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ ἐχθὲς ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσδράμοι ἢ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε

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side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged on account of the badness of the ground, as if about to force their way into the town with their strong army. Antony hung upon their movement with his cavalry and this time also with those alone. But as the enemy, too, fought him with their cavalry only, the rest of their army moving to effect their purposes, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his enemies, rejoicing at this, turned and delivered battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other camps, but as they came slowly, by reason of the suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army of Octavian won the victory. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting near the general's tent. Octavian rushed in and carried off his body and possessed himself of the camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony. Both sides passed the night also under arms.

Death of Hirtius

72. When Antony had suffered this second defeat, he took counsel with his friends directly after the battle. They advised him to adhere to his first resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having been killed and Pansa wounded; they said that he was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced to extremity by famine and must succumb. Such was the advice of his friends, and it was truly for the best. But Antony, already under some divine infatuation, was fearful lest Octavian should make another attempt to break into Mutina like that of yesterday, or even try to enclose him, as Octavian had the greater force to work with,

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περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, "ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων," ἔφη, "γιγνομένων ἡμῖν ἀχρήστων, ὑπερόψεταί με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττώμενον. εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἐξαnασταῖμεν, Οὐεντίδιός τε ἡμῖν αὐτίκα προσέσται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρωμένως οἱ συμμαχήσουσι." ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἄτολμος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνήρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο καὶ ὥδευεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων.

73. Δέκμῳ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο· τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων ἐκποδὼν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἐδεδοίκει. τάς τε οὖν γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοπτε πρὸ ἡμέρας καὶ κελητίῳ τινὰς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποστέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἠξίου δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς λόγους οἱ συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς πολίταις· πείσειν γάρ, ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαψεν, ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπηγμένον ὑφ' ἑτέρων. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀποκριναμένου τε πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν χάριν, ἣν δίδωσίν οἱ Δέκμος, διωθουμένου ("οὐδὲ γὰρ Δέκμον ἐγὼ πάρειμι περισώσων, ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμήσων, ᾧ μοι καὶ συναλλαγῆναί ποτε θέμις· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ ἐς ὄψιν ἢ λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέπει· σῳζέσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει δοκεῖ"), πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔστη τε πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, σὺν βοῇ τὰ γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε, διδούσης οἱ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευέ τε Καίσαρι χωρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς

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"in which case," said he, "our cavalry will be useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will presently join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be emboldened to ally themselves with him." So he spake, although he was not a timid man in the presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith he made his way toward the Alps.

Antony flees to the Alps

73. When Decimus was delivered from the siege he began to be afraid of Octavian, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavian in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavian would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavian, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and that he had been led into the conspiracy against Caesar by others. Octavian answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms some time, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavian by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavian to cross the river without consular authority into the government belonging to another,

Decimus seeks an interview with Octavian

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ἀλλοτρίαν ἡγεμονίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔτι χωρεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν διώκων ἀρκέσειν. ὁ δὲ ᾔδει μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θρασύτητα αὐξανόμενον, δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν ἐκ προστάγματος ἑλεῖν ἐφείδετο ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πάνσαν ἐς Βονωνίαν τραπεὶς ἔγραφε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ἁπάντων. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Πάνσας.

74. Καὶ Κικέρων ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀνεγίγνωσκεν ὡς ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ βουλῇ μόνον· θυσίας τε ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν ἱκεσίους ἐψηφίζετο, ὅσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς οὔτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδου Δέκμῳ καίπερ ἔτι Πάνσα περιόντος (ἤδη γὰρ ἀπεγιγνώσκετο), στρατηγόν τε τὸν Δέκμον ἀπέφηνεν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ μόνον εἶναι καὶ εὐχὰς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου περιγενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἶστρος αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἐβεβαίου τε αὖθις τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσι τὰς ἑκάστῳ προϋπεσχημένας παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπινικίους δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ὡς ἤδη νενικηκόσι καὶ στέφανον αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἰεὶ θαλλοῦ περιτίθεσθαι. περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις, οὐδὲ τοὔνομα ὅλως· οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο ὡς Ἀντωνίου καθῃρημένου. ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Πλάγκῳ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλησιάσειαν Ἀντωνίῳ.

75. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Πάνσας δ' ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀποθνῄσκων Καίσαρά οἱ παρεστή-

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and not to follow Antony further, for that he himself would be quite capable of pursuing him. Octavian knew that he was prompted to this audacious course by the Senate, and although able to seize him by giving an order, he spared him for the present and withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise.

Thanksgiving at Rome for victory over Antony

74. In Rome Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of Octavian. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days,—a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavian in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to continue the campaign so as to come to close quarters with Antony.

Death of Pansa

75. Such was the course of events at Rome. In the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he

CAP. X σατο καὶ εἶπεν· "ἐγὼ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἐμαυτῷ, ἀναιρεθέντι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἐπαμύνειν οὐδὲ τοῖς πλείοσι μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσας, καίτοι στρατὸν ἔχων. δείσαντες δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ σὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλοτιμότατον κἀκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην φανέντα, διαφερομένοις ὑμῖν ἐφήσθησαν ὡς ἐς ἀλλήλους συντριβησομένοις. ἐπεὶ δέ σε καὶ στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιοῦντο εὐπρεπέσι καὶ ἀσθενέσι τιμαῖς οἷα μειράκιον. σοβαρωτέρου δέ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μάλιστα ὀφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι δεδομένην οὐκ ἐδέξω, διεταράχθησαν καὶ συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐλπίσαντες ἡττηθέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἀσθενέστερόν τε καὶ μόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἤδη πᾶσαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἑταιρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξειν τὴν Πομπηίου· τόδε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον.

76. "Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ἵρτιος τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποιοῦμεν μέχρι συστεῖλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψίᾳ· ἡττηθέντα δὲ σοὶ συναλλάσσειν ἐπενοοῦμεν, ὡς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τόδε χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ μοίρᾳ χρησιμώτατον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοι πρότερον, ἡττημένου δὲ νῦν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ἱρτίου τεθνεῶτος κἀμὲ τοῦ

CHAP. X summoned Octavian to his side, and said:[1] "I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor could I fail to unite with the majority, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he also seemed to be most ambitious to continue the policy of Caesar, and they were delighted with your dissensions, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and inexpensive honours. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honours than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when one of you was vanquished the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Caesar's party would be effaced and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim.

76. "Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Caesar's friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Caesar's party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am

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[1] This interview is probably an invention of the Augustan age.

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χρεὼν ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἵνα μοι γινώσκῃς χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοίρᾳ γενόμενος, ὡς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τά τε σαυτῷ συμφέροντα γινώσκῃς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ Ἱρτίου προαίρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τὸν μὲν οὖν στρατόν, ὃν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδοῦναί σοι, καὶ παραδίδωμι· τοὺς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεις λαβών, καὶ τούσδε σοι παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλὴν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἡμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἶναι, καὶ τό τε ἔργον ἐπίφθονον ἔσται σοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξανίστησί σε, ὁ ταμίας παραλήψεται Τορκουᾶτος." ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανε. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ ταμίας, καθὰ προσέτασσεν ἡ βουλή, Δέκμῳ παρεδίδου, Ἵρτιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε μετὰ τιμῆς.

XI

CAP. XI

77. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περί τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὅτε Συρίαν διώδευε, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλελοίπει τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Καικίλιος Βάσσος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ἰούλιος Σέξστος, μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενές, ὅπερ ἐκδιαιτώμενον ἐς τρυφὴν τὸ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ. μεμψαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν αὐτὸν

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about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quaestor Torquatus will take command of them." After speaking thus he formally transferred the new levies to the quaestor and expired. The quaestor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavian sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honours to Rome, where they received a public funeral.

XI

CHAP. XI

State of affairs in Syria

77. THE following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Caesar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Caecilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Caesar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and some time later, when he called Bassus to him

CAP. XI ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ βραδέως ὑπήκουσεν, ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἕλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενομένων ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον κατηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου διαγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ Βάσσον ἀναγκάσαντες ἄλλο συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὧδε μέν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβωνι δ', ὅτι τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἰδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ, διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο τὸν Σέξστον καὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁποτέρως δ' ἐγένετο, Στάιον Μοῦρκον οἴδε, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐγκρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἕως ὁ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν.

78. Ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκοῦντο, ὁ Κάσσιος σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαβὼν τά τε τοῦ Βάσσου δύο τέλη παρελάμβανεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτὸν ἕξ, φιλίᾳ τε παραδόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνθυπάτῳ κατηκόων γενομένων· ἐψήφιστο γάρ, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε καὶ Βρούτῳ. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρᾳ καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος

and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the indignity and slew Julius. This act was followed by repentance and fear of Caesar. Accordingly, they took an oath together that they would defend themselves to the death if they were not pardoned and restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They also enlisted and drilled another legion as associates with themselves. This is one account of Bassus, but Libo[1] says that he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their leader. However that may have been, Caesar sent Staius Murcus against him with three legions. Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Murcus appealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and the latter came to his aid with three legions. CHAP. XI

Cassius raises an army

78. While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him

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[1] Λίβωνι; either Scribonius Libo, or there is an error of text for Λίβιῳ (Livy).

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οὐδὲν προπεπυσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι, δείσαντα τοῖς τέσσαρσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δυώδεκα τελῶν ἀθρόως ἐκράτει καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἐλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειότητος ἐσδεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφήδετο.

79. Μακεδονίας δὲ πέρι Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου ἀδελφός, Βρούτῳ διεφέρετο καὶ ἐπολέμει, τέλος ἔχων ἓν ὁπλιτῶν· καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἡσσώμενος ἐνήδρευσεν. ὁ δ' ἐκφυγὼν ἀντενήδρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἀποληφθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους προσέταξε· τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀντασπασαμένων οὐδὲ τὴν πεῖραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς περιελθὼν αὖθις ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις κατέστησε καὶ πάλιν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἠσπάσατο. οἱ δέ, ὡς πολιτῶν τε περιφειδόμενον καὶ τῆς δόξης ἄξιον ἧς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ πραότητι, ἠγάσαντο καὶ ἀντησπάσαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν μετεβάλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν στρατὸν πολλάκις διαφθείρων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν ἓξ ἐγίνετο τέλη· καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη κατέλεξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον καὶ τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

80. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἦν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν

CHAP. XI

unawares in Palestine and compelled him to surrender, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two legions and had been received in Laodicea in a friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when it heard the news.

Brutus captures Gaius Antonius in Macedonia

79. In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, with one legion of foot soldiers, contended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it, but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did not return the salutation or accept the courtesy, he allowed them to pass out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around by other roads and confronted them again at a precipice, and again did them no harm but saluted them. Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow citizens and as one deserving the reputation he had gained for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admiration for him, saluted him, and passed over to him. Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with honour by Brutus until he was convicted of having tried several times to corrupt the army, when he was put to death. Thus, including his former forces, Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he approved the valour of the Macedonians he raised two legions among them, whom, too, he drilled in the Italian discipline.

80. Such was the state of affairs in Syria and Macedonia. In Italy Octavian, although he con-

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ὕβρει θέμενος ἀντὶ οὗ Δέκμον ᾑρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπέκρυπτε, θρίαμβον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ᾔτει. καταφρονούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπινοῶν, ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρέντος Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφρονηθείη, καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν συμβάσεις ἐπόθει, καθὰ καὶ Πάνσας αὐτῷ διεσήμαινεν ἀποθνῄσκων. τούς τε οὖν ἁλωμένους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἢ στρατιώτας ἐφιλανθρωπεύετο, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγκατέλεγεν ἢ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπεν, ὡς οὐ δι' ἔχθρας ἀνηκέστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰόντα· Οὐεντιδίῳ τε τῷ Ἀντωνίου φίλῳ, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ὄντι, παραστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ δέος ἐμβαλὼν ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν πολέμιον, ἐδίδου δὲ ὁμοίως συνεῖναί οἱ ἢ ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀγνωσίας. ὧν Οὐεντίδιος συνεὶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῄει. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Δέκιον, τῶν τινα ἡγεμόνων Ἀντωνίου, περὶ Μουτίνην ληφθέντα διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων μεθῆκεν, εἰ θέλοι, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιέναι· καὶ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον γνώμης πολλὰ ἔφη σύμβολα τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἐξενηνοχέναι, τοῖς δ' ἄφροσιν οὐδὲ τὰ πλείονα ἀρκέσειν.

81. Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δὴ τάδε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεσήμαινε, Λεπίδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ σαφέστερον ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς τῶν σφαγέων ἀθρόας προαγωγῆς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐς χάριν τῆς Πομπηιανῆς ἑταιρείας καθ' ἕνα τῶν

CHAP. XI

Octavian takes steps toward a reconciliation with Antony

sidered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honours of a triumph for his exploits. But being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honours beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired the reconciliation with Antony, which Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of the stragglers from Antony's army, both officers and soldiers, enrolling them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony allowing them to do so, in order to show that Antony was not moved by implacable hatred against him. Having encamped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, he made him anxious, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity either to join himself or to go on unmolested with his army to Antony and chide him for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Decius also, one of Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, Octavian treated with honour, allowing him to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius asked what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that even more would be insufficient for fools.

He communicates with Lepidus and Asinius Pollio

81. After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavian wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest to secure the favour of the Pompeian faction, each of the Caesarians should one by

CAP. XI Καίσαρος ἕκαστος ὅμοια Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, κἀκείνῳ δι᾽ ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους τάδε παθόντι. ἠξίου τε ἐς μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐς δὲ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς συμφρονεῖν, ἕως ἔτι δύνανται, καὶ ὀνειδίζειν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμεῖσθαί τε τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσιν ὁπλίτας· οὐ διαλυομένους, οὐδ᾽ ὅτε παύσαιντο τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἶεν εὐεπίθετοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀθρόους ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνοικίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἢ καθ᾽ ἕνα τῶν πατρίδων ἀπολαύειν. τάδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ Λεπίδῳ τε ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀσινίῳ· Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγνυντο, ὅ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν. Πλάγκος δὲ προσεγένετο μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκμος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυνηγετήσειν ναυτικῶν περ ἤδη γεγονότων.

82. Οἵ τε Πομπηιανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ θυσίαι καθ᾽ ἕνα ἦσαν καὶ χειροτονίαι δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὔθυναν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀντωνίου. πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων· Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἢ πάνυ σμικρά, πάντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων διῳκήκει, καὶ τόδε σαφῶς εἰδυῖα ἡ βουλὴ τὰ μέν τινα αὐτῶν

one be treated like Antony, since he too was suffering the consequences of his own folly and contempt of this fear. He advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred for the sake of strength to settle together in groups upon the conquered territory, rather than to enjoy their own homes singly. This is what Octavian wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. But the first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Planeus soon joined him with his own army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would hunt down Antony, who was now a wanderer; certain small naval actions having already taken place.[1] CHAP. XI

82. When the Pompeians learned what had happened an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party; they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained: they each offered sacrifices, and decemvirs, too, were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Caesar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Caesar's memoranda. The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext

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[1] The text is probably corrupt. The mention of naval actions is out of place.

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ἐπὶ προφάσεσι διέλυεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἤλπιζε διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προύγραφον, ὅ τι τις λάβοι παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντωνίου, πάντας αὐτίκα ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν· ἀπειλαί τε τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ μετῄεσαν ἀντὶ Ἱρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσα· μετῄει δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔτι πέμπων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ συνάρξαι, ὡς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικήσοντα πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὄντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνην ἐς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὅπλων εὐπρεπῆ, οὗ δὴ καὶ πρῴην ἕνεκα τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτῆσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθέσθαι σπονδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔξω στρατηγοῖς ὑπονοουμένων καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὑβρισμένον καὶ στρατοῦ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι τε παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ μηνίοντος ἐν ὅπλοις· ὡς δ' ἄν τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελέσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφρονα, τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῆ παιδαγωγόν.

CHAP. XI

for annulling a part of the measures it would be enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The decemvirs gave public notice that whoever had received anything in the course of Antony's government should make it known in writing immediately, and threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians also sought the consulship for the remainder of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa; but Octavian also sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero privately, whom he urged to become his colleague, saying that Cicero should carry on the government, as he was the elder and more experienced, and that he himself desired to enjoy the title only, as a means by which he could dismiss his army in a becoming manner, and that this was the reason he had previously asked the honour of a triumph. Cicero, whose desire for office was excited by this proposal, said to the Senate that he understood that a negotiation was on foot among the generals commanding the provinces, and he advised that they should conciliate the man whom they had treated with disdain and who was still at the head of a large army, and allow him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his youth, rather than that he should remain under arms in a state of resentment. But lest he should do anything contrary to the interests of the Senate, Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from among the older ones should be chosen as his colleague to be a firm guardian of the immature nature of Octavian.

Octavian applies for the consulship, asking Cicero to be his colleague

XII

CAP. XII

Ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἥ τε βουλὴ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μάλιστα τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδιότες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ τίσαιτο ὑπατεύων· 83. ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ γιγνομένων ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεῶνα πείσας τὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπί τε ποταμὸν ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ οὔτε χάρακα περιεβάλετο οὔτε τάφρον ὡς δὴ φίλῳ παραστρατοπεδεύων. διαπομπαὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους πυκναί, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος φιλίας τε καὶ χαρίτων ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ' αὐτὸν ὅμοια πείσονται καθ' ἕνα πάντες, οἳ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν δεδιότος πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύουσαν, ὑπισχνουμένου δ' ὅμως οὐ πολεμήσειν ἑκόντος. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τό τε ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀγάμενοι, ἐπεμίγνυντο τοῖς Ἀντωνίου λανθάνοντες, εἶτα φανερῶς οἷα πολίταις τε καὶ συστρατιώταις γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλυόντων ὑπερεώρων καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ναυσὶν ἐγεφύρουν· τό τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγημένον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

84. Ὧν αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τις ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρευε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ

XII

CHAP. XII

The Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the relatives of the murderers especially opposed him, fearing lest Octavian, as consul, should bring the murderers to punishment, 83. but on various accounts the election was postponed by certain legal objections. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with the permission of Culleo, who had been stationed there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where Lepidus was encamped; but he neglected to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as though he were camping alongside a friend. Messengers were going to and fro between them constantly. Antony reminded Lepidus of their friendship and of his various good offices, pointing out that after he himself should be destroyed all who had enjoyed Caesar's friendship would suffer a like fate, one by one: Lepidus feared the Senate, which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he promised nevertheless that he would not do so willingly. The army of Lepidus, having respect for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers going to and fro, and being gratified with the simplicity of Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at first secretly, then openly, as with fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers; they disregarded the orders of the tribunes, who forbade their doing so; and in order to facilitate their intercourse they made a bridge of boats across the river. The Tenth Legion, which had been originally enlisted by Antony, arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

Antony encamps near Lepidus

84. When Laterensis, one of the distinguished members of the Senate, perceived this, he warned

CAP. XII

ἀπιστοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς πολλὰ διελόντα ἐκπέμψαι κατὰ δή τινας χρείας, ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἢ τῆς προδοσίας ἢ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐς τρία διελών, ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἐξορμᾶν ἐς φρουρὰν ταμιείων πλησιαζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, ὡς ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον ὁπλισάμενοι, τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῴγνυον Ἀντωνίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Λεπίδου σκηνὴν ἵετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον ἐς ἀτυχοῦντας πολίτας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄζωστος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξέθορε καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἠσπάζετο καὶ ἐξελογεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ νομίζουσιν, ἄπρακτον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄτολμον, οὐ μὴν ἅπασι τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ πιθανόν· οὐ γάρ πώ τι αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπέπρακτο, δέους ἄξιον. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως αὖθις ἐπῆρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπιφοβώτατος· στρατὸν γὰρ εἶχεν, ὅν τε ἐξανέστησε Μουτίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον ἱππικόν, τρία τε αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσγεγένητο τὰ Οὐεντιδίου, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ σύμμαχος ἐγίγνετο ἑπτὰ ἔχων ὁπλιτικὰ τέλη καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἄλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. καὶ τοῖσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνομάζετο ἔτι, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἅπαντα διῴκει.

85. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε ἐς Ῥώμην θαυμαστὴ καὶ αἰφνίδιος ἦν αὖθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως ἐς δέος,

CHAP. XII

Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on some ostensible errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some convoys who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. He came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army now escorted him, demanding from Lepidus peace and compassion for their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them ungirt, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he actually fell on his knees before Antony, being an irresolute and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony which might cause him fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man, and most formidable to his enemies; for he had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry; Ventidius had joined him on the road with three legions, and Lepidus had become his ally with seven legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed everything.

They unite their forces and Ventidius joins Antony

85. When these facts became known at Rome another wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt

Consternation at Rome

CAP. XII

τῶν δὲ ἐς θάρσος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων. αἵ τε προγραφαὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπῶντο σὺν ὕβρει, καὶ αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπείχοντο ἔτι μᾶλλον· ἥ τε βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀποροῦσα, καὶ δεδιυῖα, μὴ συνθοῖντο ἀλλήλοις ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμπε μὲν ἐς Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Λεύκιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐξιόντας, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ δύναιντο, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπὸ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε Κορνιφικίῳ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἑτέρας ἄρχοντι Λιβύης καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντι, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ τούσδε Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα ὑπονοοῦντες· ἡ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς ὧδε ἤπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδιότες μὴ συνθοῖτο Ἀντωνίῳ, στρατηγὸν αὖθις ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλα ἀπρεπῶς ἐχειροτόνουν ἅμα Δέκμῳ.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὀργὴν ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς συνεχῶς ὑβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν· ἐδίδασκέ τε πέμποντας αἰτεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγούς. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτα διδασκομένους, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔφη δι' ἑτέρων πρέσβεων. καὶ ἔπεμπον, οὓς ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεθεστηκόσιν ἐντυχεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἑνὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἐχούσῃ μόνῃ,

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CHAP. XII

were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn down with derision, and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavian and Antony should form an alliance, secretly sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and favoured the senatorial party, although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Caesar, and although they suspected everything of his, but their embarrassment drove them to this, since they even appointed, awkwardly enough, Octavian as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony.

Increasing coolness between Octavian and the Senate

86. But Octavian excited the army to anger against the Senate both on account of its repeated indignities towards himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavian and said that they would make answer also by deputies. They sent these, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavian was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go

CAP. XII χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἔνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα ἀπαντήσειν. ταῦτ᾽ ἐπισκήψαντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἤδη τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν ἐχειροτόνουν, οἷς οὐδὲ ἑνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεῖν σφίσιν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι τοὺς λόγους καθίει δι᾽ ἑτέρων οὐδὲ μέλλειν ἠξίου, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν στρατὸν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθών, τά τε ὑβρίσματα, ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγένητο, κατέλεξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν, καθ᾽ ἕνα καθαιρουμένους, δεδιέναι τε αὐτοῖς περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένοις ἔς τε πολέμιον τῆς μοίρας στρατηγὸν καὶ πολέμους ἑτέρους ἀφ᾽ ἑτέρων, ἵν᾽ ἢ ἐκφθαρεῖεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσειαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μόνοις δίδοσθαι, ἵν᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν ἐμβάλοιεν.

87. "Ἴστε δέ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔναγχος ἡττήθη οἷά τε τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐπύθεσθε ἐν ἄστει πεποιηκέναι κατὰ τῶν τινας δωρεὰς παρὰ Καίσαρος εἰληφότων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἢ ὑμῖν ὧν ἐλάβετε παρ᾽ ἐκείνου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἢ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὧδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστευόντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι; κἀγὼ μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὅ τι ἂν ἐπιγίγνηταί μοι (καλὸν γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικουροῦντα), ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑμῶν δέδια τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε, κινδυνευόντων ἐς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. ἴστε μὲν δή με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὗ στρατηγεῖν

to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered this charge to the deputies they forwarded one-half of the donative and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did not add Octavian even as an eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavian, the deputies returned without effecting anything. Octavian no longer held communication with the troops through the medium of others, and no longer asked them to wait, but assembled the army and came before them and related to them the indignities he had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to destroy all the friends of Gaius Caesar, one by one: he admonished them also to beware against being transferred to a general opposed to their party and being sent to one war after another to be killed or set in opposition to each other. This, he said, was the reason why, after their common struggles at Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce strife and sedition among them. CHAP. XII

87. "You know, too," he said, "the reason why Antony was lately vanquished. You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Caesar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety, while the relatives of the murderers thus dominate the Senate? For my part I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is honourable to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from

CAP. XII μοι διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείοις οὐκ ἐδεχόμην· ἓν δὲ μόνον ὁρῶ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτήριον, εἰ δι' ὑμῶν ὕπατος ἀποδειχθείην. τά τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται, ἀποικίαι τε προσέσονται αἱ ἔτι ὀφειλόμεναι, καὶ γέρα πάντα ἐντελῆ· ἐγώ τε τοὺς φονέας ὑπὸ δίκην ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν ὑμῖν καταλύσαιμι πολέμους."

88. Ὧν λεγομένων ἥ τε στρατιὰ προθύμως ἐπεβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἔπεμπον αἰτήσοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἃ ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κορουῖνός τε ἄρξειε νεώτερος ὢν ἔτι καὶ Σκιπίων ὕστερον, ὅ τε πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος ἑκάστου πολλὰ ὄναιτο ἡ πατρίς. τά τε ἔναγχος ταῦτα καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγνον αὐτοῖς καὶ Δολοβέλλαν προύφερον, αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι ἤδη δεδόσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν μετιέναι θᾶσσον ἐτῶν δέκα. ταῦτα τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλέονι παρρησίᾳ λεγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγοὺς ὄντας ὧδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἐπέπλησσον ὡς θρασυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιώταις πρέπον. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζοντο καὶ ἄγειν σφᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσοντες αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέτῳ χειροτονίᾳ, Καίσαρος υἱὸν ὄντα, πολλά τε τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφήμουν. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς

ambition from the time when I declined the praetorship which you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us: if I should obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and I should bring the murderers to punishment and release you from any more wars." CHAP. XII

Octavian sends soldiers to the Senate to demand the Consulship

88. At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavian. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden times Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Caesar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age.[1] While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could not endure that centurions should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and raise Octavian to the consulship because he was Caesar's son. At the same time they extolled

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[1] This is erroneous. Caesar was first elected consul in the year 694 (B.C. 60), and entered upon the office at the beginning of 695, at which time he had just reached the legal age of forty-three.

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ὁρμῆς ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἦγεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, ὀκτὼ τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἵππον ἱκανὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περάσας δὲ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὅν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέρασεν, ἐς δύο πάντας διῄρει· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἕπεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὸ δὲ ἄμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐτρόχαζεν, ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι ἀπαρασκεύους καταλαβεῖν. μέρους τε τῶν χρημάτων ὑπαντῶντος, ἃ ἐς τὰ γέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡ βουλὴ πεπόμφει, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προύπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς ἐκφοβήσοντας· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων.

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89. Ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἄπλετος, διαθεόντων τε ἀκόσμως καὶ γύναιά τινων ἢ παῖδας ἢ ὅσα τιμιώτατα ἄλλα ἐς ἀγροὺς ἢ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς πόλεως μεταφερόντων· οὐ γάρ πω σαφοῦς ὄντος, ὅτι μόνης ὀρέγοιτο ὑπατείας, πολέμιον στρατὸν ἐπιέναι σὺν ὀργῇ πυνθανόμενοι ἐς πάντα ἐδεδοίκεσαν. ἡ βουλὴ δ᾽ ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἑτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους τε, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέμφοντο, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλοιντο τὴν ἐπὶ

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He marches towards Rome with his army

the elder Caesar without stint. When Octavian saw them in this excited state, he led them directly from the assembly, eight legions of foot and a corresponding number of horse, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic province into Italy,—the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war,—he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely way. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made forced marches, hastening in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with a part of the money which the Senate had sent as a present to the soldiers, Octavian feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he secretly sent forward a force to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

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CHAP. XIII

Alarm in the city

89. When the news of Octavian's approach reached the city there was immense confusion and alarm. People ran hither and thither, and some conveyed their wives and children and whatever they held most dear to the country and to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Having heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was struck with consternation since they had no military force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some complained that they had insolently deprived Octavian of the command of

Mutual recriminations in the Senate

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τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον ὑπεροψίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὄντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου τῆς διανεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον ἐπιγράψαντες· οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἆθλα, οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε ἐντελῆ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφισιν ἔλεγον ἐκπολεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέμφοντο, Βρούτου μὲν καὶ Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε ὄντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἔτι, ἐν δὲ πλευραῖς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Λεπίδου πολεμίων· οὓς ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν Καίσαρι συναλλαγήσεσθαι, πάμπαν ἤκμαζεν ὁ φόβος. Κικέρων τε, ὃς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο.

90. Ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσις, ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτὼ δοθῆναι, Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν διανέμειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν ἀπόντα. πρέσβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οἳ τάδε φράσειν ἔμελλον αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδήν. ὧν ἄρτι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετάνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ, μὴ δεῖν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καταπεπλῆχθαι, μηδὲ ἑτέραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα ἀναιμωτί, μηδὲ ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένους ἐκ βίας τυγχάνειν, μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ὁπλισαμένους δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι προτείνειν· προσδοκᾶν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὅπλα τῇ

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the campaign against Antony, others that they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice; others because they had envied him the honour of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten: still others said that they had made the army hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavian, and thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long been in evidence, was nowhere to be seen.

Vacillating counsels

90. There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given; instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavian was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. They felt that they ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as best they could and confront the invaders with the laws, for there was some hope that, if they were confronted with the laws, not even they would bear arms against their country. If

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πατρίδι ἐποίσειν· εἰ δὲ φέροιεν, ἀνέχεσθαί τε πολιορκίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ἢ Πλάγκος ἔλθοι, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἑκόντας ἐνδέξασθαι δουλείαν ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον· τά τε ἀρχαῖα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ φρονήματα καὶ πάθη, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδόντων ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ἀνελέγοντο.

91. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκετο, τοὺς θεοὺς σφᾶς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐποτρύνειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο, καὶ μετεψηφίζετο ἅπαντα, Κικέρωνος αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντος· ἥ τε στρατεύσιμος ἡλικία προεγράφετο πᾶσα, καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τάδε, τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἱππέες χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἕτερον, ὃ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολελοίπει, πάντες οἵδε μερισθέντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευσαν, ἐφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπιδιῃρημένων σφίσι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειεν ἡττωμένους φυγεῖν διὰ θαλάσσης. καὶ τάδε σὺν εὐθαρσείᾳ πράσσοντες οὕτως ὀξέως ἤλπιζον ἀντικαταπλήξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἢ μεταπείσειν παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰτεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖσθαι· τούς τε τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε μεταθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων, μέχρι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών. τὴν δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὔτε φανερῶς οὔτε λάθρᾳ ζητοῦντες εὕρισκον. ἐθορυ-

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they should do so, it would be best to endure a siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thenceforth without remedy. They recounted the high spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of the Romans of old, who never yielded to anything when their liberty was at stake.

The Senate resolves to resist

91. As both the legions sent for from Africa happened to arrive in the harbour on this very day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind,—all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the hill called the Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city praetors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbour, together with money, in case they should be vanquished and have to escape by sea. While courageously making these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavian in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves vigorously. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. They sought for the mother and sister of Octavian, but as they did not discover them either by any open or secret search, they were again alarmed

[illegible]

at finding themselves deprived of such important hostages, and as the Caesarians showed no disposition to yield to them they concluded that it was by them that these women were being carefully concealed.

Octavian arrives at the city gates

The new legions go over to him

92. While Octavian was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers thereupon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his army still more exasperated Octavian hastened to the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill, no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him; the common people ran also and took the good order of the soldiers for a sign of peace. On the following day Octavian advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard. Here, again, detached crowds met him along the whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing that savoured of friendliness and weak compliance. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself; the others allied themselves with Octavian. When Cicero learned of the truce he sought an interview with Octavian through friends. When it was granted he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavian for the

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τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

93. Νυκτὸς δ᾽ ἄφνω δόξης γενομένης, ὅτι δύο τέλη Καίσαρος, τό τε Ἄρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, μεταθοῖτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δι᾽ ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπίστευσαν, καίπερ ὄντος ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρατοῦ· νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξειν αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἀρίστοις πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρι τις ἑτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἰσχὺς ἐπιγένοιτο, νυκτὸς ἔτι Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα ἐξέπεμπον στρατὸν ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν τινα δημάρχων Ἀπουλήιον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐποίουν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἥ τε βουλὴ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεον, Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοὺς δεξιουμένου. ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς δόξης φανείσης ἐν φορείῳ διέφυγεν.

94. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐγγυτέρω τῆς πόλεως προήγαγεν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τότε μὲν οὐδένα ἠμύνατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς Πικήνην ἐκδραμόντα, καίπερ οἱ προσαχθέντα ὡς εἶχε ληφθεὶς ἐν σχήματι οἰκέτου, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἅπαντας ἐς δόξαν φιλανθρωπίας· οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προυγράφησαν. τὰ χρήματα δέ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰανούκλῳ ἢ ἑτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλα συνενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὁπόσα Κικέρωνος ἐσηγουμένου πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο, διένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς

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consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavian answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him.

93. The next night a rumour gained currency that two of Octavian's legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, saying that they had been deceived and led against their country. The praetors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavian's army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter.

Cicero takes flight

94. Octavian laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the praetors, not even Crassus, who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave, but he pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and the amount which had been previously ordered to be paid to the army on the motion of Cicero, he distributed, namely 2500

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τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, μέχρι χειροτονήσαιεν ὑπάτους αἱρετούς. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν ᾧ περ ἐβούλετο Κοΐντῳ Πεδίῳ, ὃς τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δεδώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὖθις ὡς ὕπατος ἐσῄει, καὶ ἔθυε, δώδεκά οἱ γυπῶν φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζοντι ὀφθῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὖθις κατὰ νόμον κουριάτιον. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου γίγνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν· κουρίας γὰρ ἐς μέρη τὰς φυλὰς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἕλληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας. ἐπινομώτατος δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων· καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἴσα τοῖς γνησίοις παισὶν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους. Γαΐῳ δ' ἦν τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολλοί τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τόδ' ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένῃ, καὶ τῆσδε ἐδεήθη.

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95. Νόμῳ δ' ἑτέρῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνου δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος γραφομένων τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγ-

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drachmas per man, and promised to give them the remainder. Then he took his departure from the city until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia. Having been elected himself, together with Quintus Pedius, the man whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Caesar, he entered the city again as consul. While he offered the sacrifices, twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*,—(it is possible to have adoption ratified by the people)—for the parts into which the tribes, or local divisions, are divided are called *curiae*, just as, I suppose, the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriae*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Caesar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavian wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Caesar's will.

Octavian is elected consul with Pedius as his colleague

His adoption by Caesar is ratified by the people

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95. Octavian caused a new law to be passed to repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also to punish the murder of Caesar. Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of

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νωκέναι μόνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη, καί τισιν οὐδ' ἐπιδημήσασιν, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκτείνετο. πᾶσι δ' ὁρισθείσης ὑπὸ κηρύγματι μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἅπαντες ἑάλωσαν, ἐφορῶντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσαν φέροντος πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὃς τότε μὲν οὐδ' αὐτός τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὅδε προυγράφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόιντος Γάλλιος, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Γαλλίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρχων, αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρατηγίαν τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ οὕτω τυχὼν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν περιεῖλον οἱ σύναρχοι, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν διήρπασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατεγίνωσκε θάνατον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ νεὼς ἐπιβὰς οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι φανῆναι.

96. Τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις, πυνθανόμενος ἤδη τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴκοσι συνῆχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ χρῄζων ἐπ' αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐξῄει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεζεύγνυε, τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμένων· Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔπειθε τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους συναλλαγῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δὲ προεώρων μὲν ὅτι μὴ σφίσι μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ' ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐπῄνουν δ' ὅμως καὶ συνετίθεντο ὑπ'

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Indictment and trial of Caesar's murderers

Caesar bringing accusations against some for the act and others for guilty knowledge. This last charge was even brought against some who were not in the city when Caesar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default, Octavian presiding over the court, and none of the judges voting for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but a little later was included with the others in the proscription. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city praetor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavian for the command of Africa, and having thus got his chance, plotted against Octavian. His colleagues stripped him of his praetorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavian ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.

The Senate rescinds its decrees against Antony and Lepidus

96. These things accomplished, Octavian formed his plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavian had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irremediable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. Although they foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavian against Brutus and Cassius, nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to

CAP. XIV ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς στρατῶν κατελύετο, εἰρηναῖα δὲ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς συνήδετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ Δέκμον ὑπισχνεῖτο ἥξειν, εἰ δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλοφρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφνω καὶ ἐπῄνουν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀντώνιος ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτίσεσθαι Δέκμον τε ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος καὶ Πλάγκον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμίξειν Καίσαρι.

97. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διώκοντι δὲ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Δέκμον προσγίγνεται Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκῳ μὲν Ἀσίνιος ἔπραξε διαλλαγάς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μεθίστατο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὥστε ἤδη βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως ἦρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὧν τέσσαρα μὲν τὰ ἐμπειροπολεμώτατα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει ἔτι, τὰ νεοστράτευτα δὲ ἦν ἕξ, ἀταλαίπωρα ἔτι καὶ πόνων ἄπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μάχεσθαι, φεύγειν ἔκρινε πρὸς Βροῦτον ἐς Μακεδονίαν. ἔφευγε δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἄλπεων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἢ Ἀκυληίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὥδευε ταύτῃ, ἄλλην μακροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον ἐπενόει, τόν τε Ῥῆνον περᾶσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερελθεῖν· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστράτευτοι καταλιπόντες ἐς Καίσαρα ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τέσσαρα ἐς Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἤδη χωρὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἱππέων Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαδοὺς ἐκ

CHAP. XIV it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them, public enemies, were repealed, and others of a peaceful nature was sent to them. Thereupon Octavian wrote and congratulated them, and he promised to lend assistance to Antony against Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him. Antony wrote that he would himself punish Decimus on Caesar's account and Plancus on his own, and that then he would join forces with Octavian.

Flight of Decimus Brutus

97. Such were the letters which they exchanged with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also brought about an arrangement with Plancus, by virtue of which Plancus passed over to Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions, of whom four, the most experienced in war, had suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled; while the other six were new levies, still untrained and unaccustomed to their labours, so, as he despaired of fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. He retreated not by this side of the Appenines, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. But since Octavian was travelling by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one—to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavian; after them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own

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τοῦ παρόντος ἔτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τριακοσίων τῶν παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐφέρετο. δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περᾶν σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἀπελείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶνδε πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἤλλαξε δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐς τὸ Κελτικόν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἷά τις Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἔτι περιιών, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ἀκυληίας, λήσεσθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

98. Ἁλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ λῃστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἤρετο μὲν ὅτου Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἴη, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι Καμίλου, πολλὰ πεποιηκὼς εὖ τὸν Κάμιλον, ἄγειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀχθέντα ἰδὼν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν καὶ τοῖς δήσασιν ἐπεμέμφετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυβρίσασιν ἀνδρὶ τοσῷδε, κρύφα δ' ἐπέστελλεν Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιός τι παθὼν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τῷ Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψαι· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παροῦσι θάψαι. τοῦτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἱππάρχῃ τε Καίσαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξαντι τῆς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος

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homes, and, after distributing among them the gold he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with 300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by these also except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.[1]

He is captured and put to deat

98. Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camilus, a man to whom he had done many favours; so he told them to bring him to Camilus. When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance; but secretly he sent word to Antony. Antony was somewhat touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camilus to kill him and send his head to himself. When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Caesar's praefect of horse and had governed Narbonensian Gaul under him and had been designated by him for the consul-

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[1] Appian's geography is much in need of amendment. It is impossible to trace the route taken by Decimus from this description.

CAP. XIV ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεχειροτονημένῳ καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας Κελτικῆς ἄρχειν. καὶ δεύτερος τῶν σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίῳ δίκην ἐδίδου μετ' ἐνιαυτόν που καὶ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλος, σφαγεὺς καὶ ὅδε Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνῃρέθη, εὐνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.

ship the coming year and for the governorship of the other Gaul. He was the next of the murderers after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year and a half of the assassination. About the same time Minucius Basilus, another of Caesar's murderers, was killed by his slaves, some of whom he was mutilating by way of punishment. CHAP. XIV

BOOK IV

Δ'

I

CAP. 1. Δύο μὲν δὴ Γαΐου Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὕτω δίκην, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὑτῶν στρατηγίαις ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, Τρεβώνιος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκμος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ· ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, οἳ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἦρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτουν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἁπάσης, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς πολύς, ἱππικός τε καὶ ναυτικὸς καὶ ὁπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆες ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήματα, ἡ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἥδε ὑποδείκνυσιν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐγίγνοντο αἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφέντων ἔρευναί τε καὶ εὑρέσεις καὶ παθήματα πάμπαν ἐπαχθῆ, οἷα οὔτε ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμοις οὔτ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνου Σύλλα τοῦ πρώτου τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς θάνατον προγράψαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐζήτει καὶ ἐκόλαζεν, οὓς εὕροι· Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυψάντων ὁμοίαις τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν προέγραφεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προείρηται, τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο.

BOOK IV

I

1. Thus was punishment visited upon two of CHAP I Caesar's murderers, who were conquered in their own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Brutus in Gaul. Outline of this Book How vengeance overtook Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders in the conspiracy against Caesar, and who controlled the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty legions of infantry, together with ships and money, this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During the progress of these events came the pursuit and capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his enemies on a proscription list. For Marius searched for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill the proscribed and severe punishment to those who should conceal them. But what took place in the time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated in the history relating to them. The sequel to my previous book is as follows.

CAP. I

2. Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ' ἔχθρας συνῄεσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν, ἐς νησῖδα τοῦ Λαβινίου ποταμοῦ βραχεῖάν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἑκάτερος ὁπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε· καὶ τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθιστάντες ἐχώρουν σὺν τριακοσίοις ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν διηρεύνα τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι κατέσειεν ἥκειν ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολιπόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ᾔεσαν ἐν περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδρευον οἱ τρεῖς, Καίσαρος ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἡμέραις ἕωθεν ἐς ἑσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἔκριναν· ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Οὐεντίδιον αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους μεταλαβεῖν, καινὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἣν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις· ὧδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δόγμα ἴσως τὸ Ἀντωνίου κωλῦον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτήσια ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν νειμαμένους, ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅπασαν ἄνευ τῆς συναφοῦς τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ἣν παλαιὰν ἐκάλουν Κελτικήν· ταύτης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ· Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναι Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

3. Ὧδε μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τὰ πέραν ἄρα τοῦ Ἰονίου μόνα ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον

CHAP. I

Reconciliation of Octavian and Antony, who are joined by Lepidus

2. Octavian and Antony composed their differences on a small, depressed islet in the river Lavinius, near the city of Mutina. Each had five legions of soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges over the river. Lepidus by himself went before them, searched the island, and waved his military cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges and advanced to the middle of the island in plain sight, and there the three sat together in council, Octavian in the centre because he was consul. They were in conference from morning till night for two days, and came to these decisions: that Octavian should resign the consulship and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year; that a new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian should hold for five years with consular power (for this name seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for the five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was called Old Gaul; this, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus; while Octavian was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity thereof.

Their mutual understanding

3. Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among themselves. Only the assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic was

κρατοῦντας ἔτι αὐτῶν, Κασσίῳ δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολεμεῖν Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα· Λέπιδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπομένειν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰβηρίας δι' ἑτέρων· τοῦ δὲ Λεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτὸν Λέπιδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἑπτὰ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καίσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἂν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος εἴκοσιν ἄγοι. ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου, ἄλλαις τε δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεσι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῷ διανεμήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γενόμεναι. καὶ ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανέσταται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπύη καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Οὐενουσία καὶ Βενεβεντὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἱππώνιον. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ στρατῷ διέγραφον, ἔδοξε δὲ σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς τάδε καθισταμένοις καὶ πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον ἔκδημον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ὕπατος ἀνέγνω τοῖς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανουμένων. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπαιώνισάν τε καὶ ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

4. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερὰ ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὠρύοντο ὁμαλῶς οἷα λύκοι, σύμβολον ἀηδές, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διέθεον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν

postponed, since these were still under the control of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavian were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in the city to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his legions to guard the city, and to divide the other seven between Octavian and Antony, three to the former and four to the latter, so that each of them might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage the army with expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies—cities which excelled in wealth, in the splendour of their estates and houses, and which were to be divided among them (land, buildings, and all), just as though they had been captured from an enemy in war. The most renowned among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Thus were the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter should not interfere with their arrangements while they were carrying on war abroad. Having come to these decisions, they reduced them to writing, and Octavian as consul communicated them to the soldiers, all except the list of proscriptions. When the soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced each other in token of mutual reconciliation.

Fearful prodigies at Rome

4. While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled continuously like wolves—a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum—an animal unused to the city. Cattle uttered a

CAP. I πόλει ζῷον, βοῦς τε φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγξατο, καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ μὲν ἵδρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἵδρου, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγάλαι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὁρωμένων ἠκούετο. ἀμφί τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδῆ σημεῖα πολλά, καὶ λιθώδεις ἐγίγνοντο ὑετοί, καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔπιπτον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θύτας καὶ μάντεις συνῆγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν, τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπών, καὶ δουλεύσειν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὸ στόμα κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἕως ἀπέθανεν.

II

CAP. II 5. Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀποθανουμένους συνέγραφον, τούς τε δυνατοὺς ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες, οἰκείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ φίλους ἐς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὕστερον. προσκατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἕτεροι μεθ' ἑτέρους, οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἔχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνου προσκρούματος ἢ φιλίας ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων ἔχθρας ἢ πλούτου διαφέροντος. ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων πολλῶν, Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας φόρων δεδομένων τε καὶ προσοδευομένων ἔτι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας πολέμοις τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς τετρυμένης

human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat issued from statues; some even sweated blood. Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing of arms and the tramp of horses where none could be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around the sun, there were showers of stones, and continuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and images; and in consequence of these things the Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria. The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of former times was coming back, and that they would all be slaves except only himself, whereupon he closed his mouth and held his breath till he was dead. CHAP. I

II

5. As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves they joined in making a list of those who were to be put to death. They put on the list those whom they suspected because of their power, and also their personal enemies, and they exchanged their own relatives and friends with each other for death, both then and later. For they made additions to the catalogue from time to time, in some cases on the ground of enmity, in others for a grudge merely, or because the victims were friends of their enemies or enemies of their friends, or on account of their wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of money to carry on the war, since the revenue from Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were contributing. So the triumvirs were short of money because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted CHAP. II

Proscription decreed by the triumvirs

CAP. II

ἀποροῦντες· δι' ἃ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφορὰς βαρυτάτας, καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόησαν. ἤδη δέ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἐπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε καὶ δημεύσεως κατεγνωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἐς δισχιλίους. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ θεῖοι τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνων, ὅσοι τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκεσαν.

6. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου διελθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην προγράψειν ἔμελλον, δυώδεκα δὲ ἄνδρας, ἤ, ὡς ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προανελεῖν ἐπιπέμψαντας ἄφνω. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν τέσσαρες αὐτίκα ἀνῃρέθησαν ἐν ἑστιάσεσί τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεσι· ζητουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐρευνωμένων νεών τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, ἄφνω θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὡς ἐν ἁλισκομένῃ πόλει. τῷ γὰρ ἐγνῶσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ μηδένα τῶν προκατεγνωσμένων, πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο ζητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν περιθεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὑτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἴδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαί τι δεινὸν ἀλόγως αἱρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπατος μετὰ κηρύκων περιθέων ἐπήλπιζε περιμείναντας

CHAP. II

by wars and exactions; for which reason they levied very heavy contributions from the plebeians and finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. By now, too, some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the officers serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-officers.

First massacre

6. As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets; and when search was made for the others in temples and houses, there was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men were being seized and massacred, although there was no list of those who had been previously sentenced, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. Thus in despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of choosing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them; and they would perhaps have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight

CAP. II

ἐς ἕω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν προύγραφεν ὁ Πέδιος τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα ὡς μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν καὶ μόνους κατεγνωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο, ἀγνοῶν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

Καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, 7. ἐσῄεσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀνὰ μέρος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ ὁ 'Αντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος, σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι τάξεσι καὶ ὁπλιτῶν ἕκαστος ἑνὶ τέλει. ὡς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλήρης ὅπλων τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἤγετο ἐκκλησία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομοθέτει καινὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἐς πενταετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ 'Αντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις, (ἣν ἄν τις Ἑλλήνων ἁρμοστὰς ὀνομάσειεν, ὃ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ἄρτι καθισταμένοις τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐτίθεντο ὄνομα,) οὔτε διαστήματος ἐς δοκιμασίαν οὔτε κυρίας ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας προτεθείσης· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἐκυροῦτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑπτακαίδεκα, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν προγραφαὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως προυτίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. καί τις προσετίθετο τοῖς πίναξιν αἰεὶ τῶν προσκαταγινωσκομένων ἢ τῶν προανῃρημένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως ἀνῃρῆσθαι. διετέτακτό τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς

CHAP. II

and get more accurate information. When morning came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as being deemed the sole authors of the civil strife and the only ones condemned. To the rest he pledged the public faith, being ignorant of the determinations of the triumvirs.

The triumvirs enter the city

Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the following night, 7. and the triumvirs entered the city separately on three successive days, Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, each with his praetorian cohort and one legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled with arms and military standards, disposed in the most advantageous places. A public assembly was forthwith convened in the midst of these armed men, and a tribune, Publius Titius, proposed a law providing for a new magistracy for settling the present disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian, with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks these would be called harmosts, which is the name the Lacedaemonians gave to those whom they appointed over their subject states.) No time was given for scrutiny of this measure, nor was a fixed day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed forthwith. That same night, the proscription of 130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed in various parts of the city, and a little later 150 more, and additions to the lists were constantly made of those who were condemned later or previously killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all the victims should be brought to the triumvirs at a fixed reward, which to a free person was payable in

CAP. II

ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ῥητῷ κέρδει φέρεσθαι· καὶ ἦν τὸ κέρδος ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, θεράποντι δὲ ἐλευθερία τε καὶ ἀργύριον. παρέχειν δὲ ἐς ἔρευναν πάντας τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον ἢ κρύψαντα ἢ τὴν ἔρευναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἴσοις ἐνέχεσθαι. μηνύειν δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις κέρδεσι.

8. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφή· "Μᾶρκος Λέπιδος, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάουιος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἁρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινά, οὕτως λέγουσιν· εἰ μὴ δι' ἀπιστίαν οἱ πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐλεεινοί, τυχόντες δὲ ἐγίγνοντο τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐχθροί, εἶτα ἐπίβουλοι, οὔτ' ἂν Γάιον Καίσαρα ἀνῃρήκεσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος δορὶ λαβὼν ἔσωσεν ἐλέῳ καὶ φίλους θέμενος ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς προήγαγεν ἀθρόως, οὔτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐνυβρίσασι καὶ πολεμίους ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε ἀθρόως ἠναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλεύμεθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσευτον ὁρῶντες τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ παθεῖν αἱρούμεθα. μὴ δή τις τὸ ἔργον ἄδικον ἢ ὠμὸν ἢ ἄμετρον ἡγείσθω, ἔς τε Γάιον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς οἷα πεπόνθαμεν ὁρῶν. Γάιον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ φοβερώτατα Ῥωμαίοις καθελόντα τε ἔθνη καὶ κτησάμενον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ὅρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντα,

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money and to a slave in both money and freedom. All were required to afford opportunity for searching their houses. Those who received fugitives, or concealed them, or refused to allow search to be made, were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed, and those who informed against concealers were allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the proscribed].

Text of the proscription

8. The proscription was in the following words: "Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious traitors begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Caesar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honours, and gifts; nor should we have been compelled to use this wide-spread severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those who have conspired against us and by whose hands Gaius Caesar suffered, cannot be mollified by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Caesar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Caesar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the

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καὶ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν ἄγνωστον εὑρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ ὄψεσι θεῶν, κατέκανον εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαῖς ἐνυβρίσαντες, οἱ πολέμῳ ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ περισωθέντες κληρονόμοι τέ τινες αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἐγγραφέντες εἶναι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μύσει τῷδε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐξέπεμψαν, αἷς ἐκεῖνοι χρώμενοι τά τε κοινὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἥρπασαν, καὶ στρατὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγείρουσι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἕτερον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἀεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμίων, τάς τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις τὰς μὲν οὐ πείθοντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ κατέσκαψαν ἢ κατήρειψαν, τὰς δὲ καταπλήξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ' ἡμῶν.

9. "Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβάνοντος αὐτίκα δίκην διδόντας ὄψεσθε. τῶν δὲ μεγίστων ἡμῖν ἠνυσμένων καὶ ὑπὸ χερσὶν ὄντων, Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ Κελτικῆς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἴκοι, ἕν ἐστι λοιπὸν ἔτι ἔργον, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτόχειρας Γαΐου. μέλλουσι δὴ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔκδημον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ὀπίσω καταλιπεῖν, ἐπιβησομένους ταῖς ἀπουσίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῦ πολέμου καιροφυλακήσοντας, οὐδ' αὖ βραδύνειν διὰ τούσδε ἐν ἐπείξει τοσῇδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκποδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀθρόως ποιήσασθαι, ἄρξαντάς γε τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, ὅτε πολεμίους ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῖν στρατοὺς ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι.

10. "Κἀκεῖνοι μὲν τοσάσδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας

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Romans, this man was slain in the midst of the senate-house, which is designated as sacred, under the eyes of the gods, with twenty-three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, while some of them he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money, with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reinforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms against the country and against us.

9. "Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall presently see the rest punished. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well under control, namely the settlement of Spain and Gaul as well as matters here in Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Caesar's assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war; nor again do we think that there should be delay on their account, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that they began the war against us when they voted us and the armies under us public enemies.

10. "What vast numbers of citizens have they, on

CAP. II ἡμῖν συναπώλλυον, οὔτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὔτε φθόνον ἀνθρώπων ὑφορώμενοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ πλήθει μὲν οὐδενὶ χαλεπανοῦμεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιλεξόμεθα πάντας, ὅσοι διηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἢ περιουσίας ἢ ἀξιώσεως οὐδ' ὅσους ἕτερος πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἔκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καθιστάμενος, ὃν Εὐτυχῆ προσείπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν, καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὔσης τρισὶ πλέονας ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἑνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τε καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμυνούμεθα. καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἧσσον ἡμῶν· ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν διαφερομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεινὰ πάσχειν, ἀνάγκη δέ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι παραμύθιον ὑβρισμένῳ τε καὶ παρωξυμμένῳ καὶ πολεμίῳ πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ. δυνηθέντες δ' ἄν, οὓς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλαβεῖν, αἱρούμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι συλλαβεῖν· καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις ᾖ διωργισμένοις πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηριθμημένους καὶ ὡρισμένους ἔχοντες ὀνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀπέχωνται.

11. "Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοίνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων τῷδε τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδένα μηδὲ κρυπτέτω μηδὲ ἐκπεμπέτω ποι μηδὲ πειθέσθω χρήμασι. ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ σώσας ἢ ἐπικουρήσας ἢ συνειδὼς φανῇ, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ὑπολογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἢ συγγνώμην, ἐν τοῖς

their part, doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished for their riches merely, their abundance, or their high position; nor shall we slay as many as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate on account of his success; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers, and it is necessary for us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomsoever we had determined on, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders against persons not responsible, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order. CHAP. II

11. "So be it then![1] Let no one harbour any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing

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[1] A pious formula like the Latin *quod felix faustumque sit.*

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προγεγραμμένοις τιθέμεθα. ἀναφερόντων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος ἐπὶ δισμυρίαις δραχμαῖς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαις Ἀττικαῖς καὶ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου πολιτείᾳ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς μηνύουσιν ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς ἐγγεγράψεται τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ κατάδηλος ᾖ". ὧδε μὲν εἶχεν ἡ προγραφὴ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ Λατίνης μεταβαλεῖν.

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12. Πρῶτος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφουσι Λέπιδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Λεπίδου Παῦλος, καὶ δεύτερος ἦν τῶν προγραφόντων Ἀντώνιος καὶ δεύτερος τῶν προγραφομένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος, οἵδε μέν, ὅτι πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο. τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ πίνακι προκειμένων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πλώτιος, Ἀσινίου δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κοΐντιος. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἄρα μόνην οἵδε τῶν ἄλλων προύκειντο μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς θάμβος καὶ δυσελπιστίαν, μηδένα ῥύσεσθαί τινα προσδοκᾶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Θωράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, λεγόμενος ὑπό τινων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι Καίσαρος. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἵ τε πύλαι κατείχοντο καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἔξοδοί τε καὶ λιμένες ἢ ἕλη καὶ τέλματα ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς φυγὴν ὕποπτον ἦν ἢ ἐς λαθραίους καταφυγάς· τήν τε χώραν

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any excuse or pardon. Let those who kill the proscribed bring us their heads and receive the following rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic drachmas and his master's right of citizenship. Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order that they may remain unknown the names of those who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our registers." Such was the language of the proscription of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered from Latin into Greek.

III

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The triumvirs proscribe their own relatives

12. Lepidus was the first to begin the work of proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and the second name on the list was that of his uncle, Lucius Caesar. These two men had been the first to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The third and fourth victims were relatives of the consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius, the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-in-law of Asinius. These four were placed at the head of the list, not only on account of their dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that none of the proscribed might hope to escape. Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When the lists were published, the gates and all the other exits from the city, the harbour, the marshes, the pools, and every other place that was suspected as adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the

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ἐπετέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐγίγνετο πάντα ὁμοῦ.

13. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν φυγαί τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐς φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθηντο μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἧσσον τῶν σφαγέων οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας οὐκ εὐμενῶς σφίσιν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθέρους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν χωρίων. ἐπανάστασις γὰρ δὴ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ὕπουλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιστος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσδε τὰς ἀρχὰς μετιόντων ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐς πόδας ἰδίου θεράποντος ῥιπτουμένων σὺν ὀλοφύρσεσι καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἴκτιστον δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἐλεηθεῖεν.

14. Ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὡς ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμου καταλήψεσιν· οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἢ πολέμιον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγέων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδιότας, σφίσι δὲ αὐτίκα γιγνομένους ἐξ οἰκείων

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surrounding country. All these things took place simultaneously.

Terrible panic in the city

13. Straightway, throughout city and country, wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown, and undignified flights in disguises which strangely contrasted with former splendour. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thickly-packed tiles of their roofs. For some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers, while others feared their freedmen and their slaves; creditors feared their debtors and neighbours feared neighbours who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, praetors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of saviour and master. But the most lamentable thing was that even after this humiliation they did not obtain pity.

Domestic servants as informers and assassins

14. Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in ordinary sedition or military occupation: for in those cases the people had to fear only the members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, but could rely on their own households; but now they were more afraid of these than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either

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πολεμίους, ἢ δι' ὕπουλον ἔχθραν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον. ἄπιστος γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόως ἕκαστος ἐς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέου προυτίθει· ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἢ εὔνους ἐδεδίει βοηθεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἢ συνειδέναι δι' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἔς τε τὸ ἔμπαλιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλά τινων ἄφνω συλλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὅμοια καὶ συνήσπιζον ἀλλήλοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἔκδοτοι γεγένηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐκυνηγέτουν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναιρουμένων διήρπαζον, καὶ τὸ κέρδος αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγώγει· οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροί τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἐτεθήπεσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς παραλογώτερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθεῖεν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοιαι, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἀρχόντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τοιάδε ἐργάζεται.

15. Ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἀδικούμενοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λιμῷ τε ἑκουσίῳ δαπανῶντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἢ ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἢ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἢ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν

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from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain published rewards, or to possess themselves of the gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these reasons each one became treacherous to his master, preferring his own gain to compassion for him, and those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other; but in the proscriptions some immediately became the prey of all, others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became bloodhounds for the murderers for the sake of the rewards; while of the general throng, some plundered houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards.

Scenes of agony and horror

15. Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they

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ὑπίσχοντες ἢ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας, ἕτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς ἢ διωθούμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὠνούμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἢ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δῆλος ἦν ὁ μὴ προγραφεὶς νέκυς, ὅτε οἱ προσκέοιτο ἡ κεφαλή· τῶν γὰρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτίθεντο παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν, ἔνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας ἀντιλαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθά. ἴση δ' ἦν ἑτέρων σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετή, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων, περισῳζόντων τε καὶ συμμηχανωμένων πολλὰ καὶ συναποθνῃσκόντων, ὅτε μὴ τύχοιεν ὧν ἐπενόουν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανῄρουν σφᾶς ἀνῃρημένοις. τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπί τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτως ὁ καιρὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐπίδειξις παραδοξολογίας.

16. Καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο οὐκ ἐν ἰδιώτιδι πόλει οὐδὲ ἐν ἀσθενεῖ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δυνατωτάτην καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἡγεμονίδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄρα ἐς τὴν νῦν καθιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τοιάδε ἕτερα ἐν αὐτῇ κατά τε Σύλλαν καὶ ἔτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον Μάριον, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ γνωριμώτατα τῶν κακῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσῆν ἐκείνοις ἀταφία· ταῦτα δὲ ἀξιώσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν

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delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or tried to thrust aside the danger, or to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others—of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honours of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford.

Some remarkable cases

16. These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the evil deity thus shook the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about after a long period of time the present well ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Caius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remarkable by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially the character

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συστησαμένου τε ἐς ἕδραν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἄρχον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπόντος, ἐπιφανέστερα. ὧν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χείρω γενόμενα ἐν μνήμῃ τε μᾶλλον ὄντα, ὅτι καὶ τελευταῖα γέγονεν, ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα (οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἁπλῆ καὶ φυγὴ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισι συγγνόντων ὕστερον ἐπάνοδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανὴς καταβίωσις), ἀλλ' ὅσα παραλογώτατα ὄντα μάλιστα ἂν ἐκπλήξειε καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσειε τοῖς προλεγομένοις. πολλὰ δέ ἐστι, καὶ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· ὀλίγα δὲ ἐγὼ καθ' ἑκάστην ἰδέαν, ἐς πίστιν ἑκάστης καὶ ἐς εὐδαιμόνισμα τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

IV

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17. Ἤρξατο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔτι ὄντων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνῃρέθη δημαρχῶν Σάλουιος. ἱερὰ δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἄσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἴσχυεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἦν ὅδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκὼς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὕστερον δὲ συμπεπραχὼς ἐς πάντα Κικέρωνι. πυθόμενος δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπείξεως τοὺς οἰκείους εἱστία ὡς

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and good fortune of one of them, who established the government on a firm foundation, and left his lineage and the name which is now supreme after him. I shall now go over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the better to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are most calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in many books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time.

IV

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The tribune Salvius slain at a banquet

17. THE massacre began, as it happened, among those who were still in office, and the first one slain was the tribune Salvius. His office was, according to the laws, sacred and inviolable, endowed with the greatest powers, so that tribunes have even imprisoned consuls. Salvius, too, was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had co-operated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his

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οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσόμενος· ἐσδραμόντων δὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὁπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξανίσταντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἠρεμεῖν κατακλιθέντας, τὸν δὲ Σάλουιον, ὡς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρῃζε, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον αὖθις ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὡς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθωσιν ὅμοια. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἰχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθηπότες ἄναυδοι μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτὸς τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκειντο. δεύτερος δ' ἀνὴρ ἔθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρεσιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, πυθόμενος δὲ ἰέναι τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἔτι καὶ ἐπισκοπούμενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνήλλασσεν ἔς τι καὶ ἐργαστήριον ἐσέδραμεν, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπαύσας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ ἐλέῳ παραμένοντες εὐμαρέστερον ἄκοντες ἐποίησαν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὑρεῖν.

18. Ἄνναλιν ἕτερον στρατηγόν, τῷ παιδὶ μετιόντι ταμιείαν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιουμένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἵ τε συνιόντες φίλοι καὶ οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον, πυθόμενοι προσγεγράφθαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἄνναλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἑαυτοῦ τινα φυγών, ᾧ βραχὺ καὶ εὐτελὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείῳ καὶ διὰ πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς, μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς τὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπήσας, ὡδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος.

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friends, believing that he should not have many more opportunities for doing so. Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on, some of the guests started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the guests to stay where they were and make no disturbance, unless they wished to suffer a like fate. So they remained even after the centurion's departure, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent watches of the night, reclining by the tribune's headless body. The second one slain was the praetor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum. Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he leapt up, and while he was still running about looking for a hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted into a shop, sending away his attendants and the insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus unintentionally made the discovery of the praetor more easy to his slayers.

Annalis and Thoranius betrayed by their sons

18. Annalis, another praetor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quaestorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied Annalis, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The

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καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τήν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομίαν ᾑρέθη. ἀναλύοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιῶταί τι προσκρούσαντες ἔκτειναν, οἳ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνῃρήκεσαν.

Θουράνιος δὲ οὐ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐστρατηγηκώς, πατὴρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστου, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἠξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἔστε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρ' Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δ' ἐπιγελάσαντες "ᾔτησεν," εἶπον, "ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα." καὶ συνεὶς ὁ πρεσβύτης ἕτερον αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ᾔτει διάστημα, μέχρις οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρῴων, μὴ κἀκείνην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῷδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχρὰ δαπανῆσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἁλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

19. *Κικέρων δέ, ὃς μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἴσχυσεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγοῦ μοναρχία, κατέγνωστο μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις· φυγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον, ἀμφὶ Καιήτην πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καταχθεὶς ἠρέμει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνωμένων (τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμότατα πάντων Ἀντώνιός τε ἐζήτει καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες) ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπτάντες ἔκλαζον, ἐπεγείροντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου,*

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triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the aedileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father.

Thuranius, who was not then praetor but had been, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened that this man too, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, in the end was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment.

Flight and pursuit of Cicero

19. Cicero, who had held supreme power after Caesar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the sea-sickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta, a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), ravens flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his

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καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως οἱ θεράποντες, σημηνάμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι σύμβολον ἔκ του θεῶν, ἐς φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγον διὰ λόχμης βαθείας λανθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ μέρη διαθεόντων τε καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ που Κικέρων ὁραθείη, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ καὶ ἐλέῳ πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἤδη, σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνᾳ τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις ὄντι τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἔδειξεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέδραμέ τε καὶ θεράποντας ἰδὼν πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῶντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατηγικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν· "ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐρὰν λοχαγοί."

Τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὡς ἐλευσομένων πλεόνων κατεπλάγησαν, 20. ὁ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε κατωρθωκώς, ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπάσας ἀπέτεμνεν, ἐς τρὶς ἐπιπλήσσων καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζων ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας· ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ᾗ τοὺς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οἷα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐς μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραφεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν, αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες· καὶ ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς. ὁ δὲ ἥσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάσιν Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμιώτατόν οἱ

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bed-covering, until his servants, divining that this was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by good-will and pity, said that he had already put to sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the path to Laena, the centurion, who was pursuing with a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing slaves mustering for the defence in much larger number than the force under his own command, he called out by way of stratagem, "Centurions in the rear, to the front!"

Thereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers were coming, were terror-stricken, 20. and Laena, although he had been once saved by Cicero when under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by reason of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against Antony as a tyrant, which he had entitled Philippics in imitation of those of Demosthenes. Then some of the soldiers hastened on horseback and others on shipboard to convey the good news quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front of the tribunal in the forum when Laena, a long distance off, shewed him the head and hand by lifting them up and shaking them. Antony was delighted beyond measure. He crowned the centurion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy.

He is cruelly killed

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γενόμενον ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βήματος ἀπεκρέμαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημηγόρει· καὶ πλείους ὀψόμενοι συνέθεον ἢ ἀκροώμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης, μέχρι κόρον ἔσχε τῆς θέας τοῦ κακοῦ.

Ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κικέρων, ἐπί τε λόγοις ἀοίδιμος ἐς ἔτι νῦν ἀνήρ, καὶ ὅτε ἦρχε τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγονὼς χρήσιμος, ἀνῄρητο καὶ ἀνῃρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐς Βροῦτον. Κόιντος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ καταληφθεὶς ἐδεῖτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἱκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτήσειν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἕτερον ἕτεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνεῖλον ὁμοῦ.

21. Ἐγνάτιοι δέ, πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, συμφυέντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανον· καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέτμηντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συνεπέπλεκτο. Βάλβος τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα μὴ βαδίζοντες ὁμοῦ φανεροὶ γένοιντο, προύπεμψεν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εἵπετο ἐκ διαστήματος. ἐξαγγείλαντος δέ τινος, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, τὸν υἱὸν συνειλῆφθαι, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας μετεπέμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπολέσθαι ναυαγίῳ· οὕτω ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρρούντιος τὸν υἱόν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἔπεισεν ὡς νέον περισῴζειν ἑαυτόν.

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His head and hand suspended from the rostra

The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight.

Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time at a given signal.

The Egnatii, Balbus, and Aruntius

21. The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by one blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies was still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mistake, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did evil destiny increase the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to

CAP. IV καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προύπεμψε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνῃρημένον τὸν ἄνδρα θάψειε· πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διεφθάρθαι λιμῷ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτήν.

Αἵδε μὲν δὴ παίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔστων εἰκόνες· 22. ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὁμοῦ προγραφέντες, οἷς ὄνομα ἦν Λιγάριοι, ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ ἰπνῷ, μέχρι τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνευρόντων ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνῃρέθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγών, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω διεφθαρμένον, ἔρριψεν αὑτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἁλιέων περισχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐναλάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτωκότα, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἐφιλονίκει καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐώθει, ἡσσώμενος δὲ τῶν ἁλιέων περιεγίγνετο καὶ "οὐκ ἐμέ," ἔφη, "περισῴζετε, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυτε." οἱ δὲ καὶ ὣς αὐτὸν οἰκτείραντες περιέσῳζον, μεχρι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἳ τὴν γέφυραν ἐτήρουν, ἰδόντες ἐπέδραμόν τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἑτέρων δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁ μὲν αὑτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος, καὶ θεράπων αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεζήτει μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας, εὑρὼν δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεσθαι δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ ἆθλον ἀπέκοψε· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν κοπρῶνι κρυπτόμενον ἕτερος ἐμήνυσε θεράπων, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελθεῖν μὲν ἀπηξίωσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντοῦντες ἐξήγαγον καί, ὡς εἶχε, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονίψαντες ἀπέκοψαν. ἕτερος δέ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου, προσδραμὼν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ἐκείνῳ προγεγράφθαι, "ἐμέ," ἔφη, "κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου."

seek his safety because he was young. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death. CHAP. IV

The two Ligarii Let these serve as examples of sons good and bad. 22. As for brothers, two of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled; when he learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from the bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He stoutly resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again; but when he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed "You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed." Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two other brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out, and then cut off his head, just as he was, without even washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, "Kill me

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καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνάγραπτον, "εἰκότα ἀξιοῖς," ἔφη· "σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου γέγραψαι," καὶ εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔκτεινεν ἄμφω.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δείγματα· Λιγάριον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαιναν, προδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἵπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένῃ βοῶσα· "ἐγὼ τοῦτον ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δ' ὅμοια τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμια." καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὴν οὔτε ἀναιροῦντος οὔτε μηνύοντος, αὐτάγγελος ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε καθ' ἑαυτῆς, κἀκείνων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδόντων, ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λιμῷ. καὶ τῆσδε μὲν ἐνθάδε ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισῴζουσα ἀπετύγχανέ τε καὶ συνεξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν· ὅσαι δὲ ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράψω. ἕτεραι δὲ ἀθεμίστως ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστιν, ἣ Σεπτιμίῳ μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δέ τινος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλου διεφθείρετο· ἐπειγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐς γάμον ἐδεήθη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοῖς πίναξι προσετέθη. καὶ μαθὼν ἐς τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν οἴκοι κακῶν ἔφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὡς φιλοφρονουμένη τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλεισε καὶ ἐτήρει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕως οἱ σφαγεῖς παρεγένοντο· καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἀνῄρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθυε γάμους.

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before him."[1] The centurion, having the proscription list at hand, said, "Your request is a proper one, for your name comes before his." And so saying, he killed both of them in due order.

Septimus betrayed by his wife

23. The above may serve as examples in the case of brothers. Ligarius was concealed by his wife, who communicated the secret to only one female slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she followed her husband's head as it was carried away, crying out, "I sheltered him; those who give shelter are to share the punishment." As nobody killed her or informed of her, she came to the triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being moved by her love for her husband they pretended not to see her, so she starved herself to death. I have mentioned her in this place, because she failed to save her husband and would not survive him. I shall refer to those who were successful in their devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection for matrimony, she besought Antony through her paramour to rid her of her husband. Septimius was at once put on the list of the proscribed. When he learned this, in ignorance of this domestic treachery he fled to his wife's house. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came. The same day that her husband was killed she celebrated her new nuptials.

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[1] *ἐμὲ κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου.* This may mean, "kill me before him," or "kill me instead of him." The latter was the meaning intended, but the centurion interpreted it the other way for the sake of the jest.

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24. Σάλασσος δὲ ἐκφυγών τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἧκε μὲν ἐς πόλιν νυκτός, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δεινόν, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος αὐτὸν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος ἐπέγνω καὶ ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οἴκημα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ κρύψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ θρέψειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκά οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἡ δ' ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδιέναι δ' ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ θεραπαίναις τὸ ὕποπτον, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἥξειν ἔφη. καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετῄει, καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσαν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπείξων· ὁ δὲ Σάλασσος, οἰχομένου τοῦ θυρωροῦ δείσας ὡς ἐς ἐνέδραν ἀπιόντος, ἐς τὸ τέγος ἀναδραμὼν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἰδὼν δὲ οὐ τὸν θυρωρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἡγουμένην ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. Φούλβιον δὲ ἐς θεραπαίνης φυγόντα παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηλευθερωμένης καὶ προῖκα ἐς γάμον ἐπιλαβούσης, ἡ τοσάδε εὖ παθοῦσα προύδωκε ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς μεθ' ἑαυτὴν τῷ Φουλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑποδείγματα γεγράφθω· 25. Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης, πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ κατειργασμένος, διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἔργων καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον ἀνακεκλημένος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ὢν ἤδη καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον προγεγραμμένος, ἀνεπέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὅσα θέλοιεν,

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Other depraved women

24. Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers, and the janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming, and Salassus, when he had gone out, feared that he had gone to lay a plot against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing not the janitor but his wife bringing the murderers, he precipitated himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her.

Statius, Capito, and Vetulinus

Let the above suffice as examples of depraved women. 25. Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered

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τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης ἐπικλείσας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο. Καπίτων δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγων τοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους καθ' ἕνα ἀνῄρει, ὑπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιβρισάντων εἷς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐετουλῖνος δὲ χεῖρα ἤθροισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον αὐτῶν τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἳ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμέναι πάνυ ἐδυσχέραινον. τούσδε οὖν ἔχων ὁ Οὐετουλῖνος ἀνῄρει τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέοντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέονος οὐδ' ὧς ἔληξεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὑποδεχόμενον, ἐπέρασεν. εἶτα ἐπολέμει καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἡσσώμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἄλλοι συνῆσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, ὡς εἶδε πορθμευόμενον ἤδη τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεκόπη.

26. Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἐξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ γενομένου, προδοθεὶς ἥρπασε παρά του τῶν στρατιωτῶν ξίφος καὶ τὸν προδότην μόνον ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέσποτος δὲ οἰκέτης τὸν κεκτημένον ἐπὶ λόφου ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ᾔει μισθωσόμενος αὐτῷ σκάφος. ἐπανιὼν δὲ κτεινόμενόν τε εἶδε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἤδη μέγα βοῶν "ἐπίμεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὦ δέσποτα," εἶπε καὶ κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἄφνω. μετὰ δὲ

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his property around with his own hand. When at last the house was empty he closed the doors, set fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who was master of that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messana, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.

Servants and their masters

26. Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been his favourite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he saw his master being killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, "Wait a moment, my master," whereupon he fell suddenly upon the

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ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναιρῶν εἶπε τῷ δεσπότῃ· "παραμύθιον ἔχεις." Λεύκιος δὲ δύο πιστοτάτοις ἀπελευθέροις χρυσίον δοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ᾔει, διαδράντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων τοῦ βίου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγεῦσι. Λαβιηνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς τῶν τότε συλλαβών τε καὶ κτείνας ἠδόξησεν ἄρα, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια γενναίως ἐνέγκοι, καὶ προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρὰ εὐνόοις θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ' αἰεὶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἢ κεφαλαῖς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ' ἔπεισε τοὺς θεράποντας ἅψαι πυράν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανόντα θάπτοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευθέντες ἧψαν, ὁ δὲ ἐσήλατο ἐς αὐτήν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς διαίτης, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγήν. ἄλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθῆστο ἑκὼν καὶ βραδυνόντων τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγξατο ἐν μέσῳ.

27. Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος τότε πενθερός, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ φέρων τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀηδίαν ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. Καισέννιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύγοντά τε καὶ βοῶντα οὐ προγεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἔκτειναν.

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centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, saying to his master, "Now you have consolation." Lucius put money in the hands of his two most faithful freedmen and started for the sea-shore. They ran away with it, and he turned around, despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed many persons in the time of the proscription of Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he did not bear a like fate bravely. So he went to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed himself in the fields among faithful slaves. When he saw centurions running hither and thither with weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might say that they were paying the last rites to the dead Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it. Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could not endure the meanness of his mode of existence, he came forth and delivered himself to slaughter. Another proscript voluntarily seated himself in full view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming, he strangled himself in public.

27. Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not bear the anguish of the tempest he leaped overboard. Caesennius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he was not proscribed, but that they had conspired against him on account of his money. They brought him to the proscription list and told him to read his name on it, and while he was reading killed him.

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Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι προγέγραπται, διωκόμενον ἄλλον ἰδὼν ἤρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τὸν διώκοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἴη· καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας "σὺ κἀκεῖνος" εἶπε καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κίλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προϊὼν καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐπύθοντο σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα προσγεγράφθαι, οὔπω τινὸς ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς, ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν.

Ἰκέλιος δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κασσίῳ δικάζων, Καίσαρος τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐφεστῶτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα τὴν καταδικάζουσαν φερόντων, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερῶς, ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγαλόφρονος ἐλευθεριότητος, νεκρὸν σῶμα ἐκκομιζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συνεβάσταζε τὸ λέχος. ἰδόντων δὲ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς πύλας, ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἑνὶ ἀνδρί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονοούντων, τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνωμένων, μὴ νεκρόν τις ὑποκρίνοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Ἰκέλιον ἤλεγχον οὐχ ὁμότεχνον σφίσιν ὄντα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

28. Οὐᾶρος δ' ἀπελευθέρου προδιδόντος αὐτὸν ἀπέδρα, καὶ ὄρος ἐξ ὄρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρναίων ἕλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἔνθα ἑαυτὸν διαναπαύων ἡσύχαζε. τῶν δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσει λῃστηρίου τὸ ἕλος περιθεόντων, ἥ τε κόμη τοῦ δόνακος σαλευθεῖσα ἐνέφηνε τὸν Οὐᾶρον, καὶ

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Aemilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and seeing another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man was. The centurion, recognizing Aemilius, replied, "You and he," and killed them both. Cillo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when they learned that their names had been added to the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinently through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road.

Icelius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius, when Octavian was supervising the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence, put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers convicted Icelius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.

The cases of Varus and Largus

28. Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to the marsh at Minturnae, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnae were scouring this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and

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ληφθεὶς ἔλεγεν εἶναι λῃστὴς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἠνείχετο. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ βασανιεῖν ἐς τοὺς συνεγνωκότας, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἤδη τοῦτο ὡς ἀπρεπέστερον, "ἀπαγορεύω," φησίν, "ὑμῖν, ὦ Μιντουρναῖοι, ὕπατόν με γεγενημένον, καί, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἄρχουσι τιμιώτερόν ἐστι, προγεγραμμένον μήτε βασανίζειν μήτε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι μοι διαφυγεῖν, ἄμεινον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων παθεῖν." ἀπιστούντων δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπονοούντων λοχαγὸς ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρναίοις κατέλιπε.

Λάργον ἕτεροι συνελάμβανον ἐν χωρίοις, οὐ Λάργον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον διώκοντες· οἰκτείραντες δ', ὅτι μὴ ζητούμενος ἁλοίη, φεύγειν μεθῆκαν ἀνὰ τὴν ὕλην. ὁ δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρων διωκόμενος δρόμῳ τοὺς προτέρους κατέλαβε καί "ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "μὲ κτείνατε μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς φέρησθε."

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθνήσκων φιλανθρωπίας, 29. Ῥοῦφος δὲ ἔχων συνοικίαν περικαλλῆ, γείτονα Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, πάλαι μὲν ἀξιούσῃ τῇ Φουλβίᾳ πρίασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ συνεχώρει, τότε δὲ καὶ δωρούμενος προεγράφη. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιός οἱ προσφερομένην οὐχ ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἡ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προτεθῆναι. ἔπαυλιν ἕτερος εἶχε περικαλλῆ καὶ σύσκιον,

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said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death on this ground and resigned himself, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnae," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and—what is more important in the eyes of our present rulers—also proscribed! If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighbourhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians.

Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men."

Rufus proscribed for the sake of his house

Thus Largus recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him. 29. As for Rufus, he possessed a handsome mansion near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife. She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place

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ἄντρον τε καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βαθύ, καὶ τάχα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ προυγράφη. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγέων ἔτι μακρόθεν ἐπιθεόντων θεράπων αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδυ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἶναι καὶ δεδιέναι· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθείς, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὁμοδούλων τις ἐνέφηνε τὴν ἐνέδραν. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ὧδε τοῦ δεσπότου, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐποίησεν. Ἁτέριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον θεράπων ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἐλεύθερος αὐτίκα γενόμενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ μετὰ σιγῆς εἵποντο κλαίοντες, ἕως ὁ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτόν, ὡς πλεονάσαντα τῆς χρείας, ἀνεδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου.

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30. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, ἥψατο δὲ καὶ ὀρφανῶν διὰ πλοῦτον ἡ τότε τύχη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῷ συνανῃρέθη, τὸν παῖδα περισχομένῳ τε καὶ οὐ μεθιέντι· Ἀτίλιος δὲ ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων περιθέμενος στολὴν ᾔει μέν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, σὺν πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ἱερά, ἄφνω δὲ

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in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account of which probably he was proscribed. He was taking the air in this grotto when the murderers were observed by a slave, as they were coming toward him, but still some distance off. The slave conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto, dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended that he was the man and simulated alarm, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this way the master was killed, but the people were so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest until they had obtained from them the crucifixion of the slave who had betrayed his master, and the freedom of the one who had tried to save him.

A slave revealed the hiding-place of Haterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscript, for overdoing his part.

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Children proscribed for their wealth

30. Such were the miseries of grown men, but the calamity extended to orphan children on account of their wealth. One of these, who was going to school, was killed, together with his attendant, who threw his arms around the boy and would not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming the man's toga, went, as was customary, with a procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples.

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ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος ἐκ δαψιλοῦς παραπομπῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐχώρει· οὐ δεξαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους, οὐκ ἀξιώσας ἔτι ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ἑτέρου μετὰ μητέρα, ἐς ὄρος ἔφυγεν· ὅθεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλήφθη πρὸς ἀνδρὸς λῃστεύειν τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖν εἰθισμένου. οἷα δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τὸν πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἁμαξιτὸν αὐταῖς χοινικίσι διέδρα καὶ παροδεύουσι λοχαγοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἀνῃρέθη.

31. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Λέπιδος ἐπὶ Ἴβηρσιν ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ προυτέθη διάγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον· "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ προειρήσθω πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ φαίνηται ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἔσται." ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀνῆγε, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἁπάντων μετὰ σχήματος ἱλαροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦς· τῶν δὲ προγεγραμμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖτο, καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἦν ὁ τὰ χωρία ὠνούμενος, οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαρεῖν τοῖς ἠτυχηκόσιν αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰσίῳ σφίσι τὰ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ὅλως χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἔχοντας ὁρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικτήσεις νῦν ἀκινδύνους, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄντα ἐπικίνδυνα. μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ θρασύτητα προσιόντες, ἅτε μόνοι, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὠνοῦντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐλπίσασιν

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His name being put on the proscription list unexpectedly, his friends and servants ran away. Left alone, and bereft of his fine escort, he went to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody else after his mother had failed him, he fled to a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain, where he was captured by a highwayman, accustomed to rob passers-by and set them to work in factories. The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped to the high roads with his fetters, revealed himself to some passing centurions, and was killed.

31. While these events were taking place Lepidus enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and an edict was displayed in the following terms: "May Fortune favour us. Let it be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate this day with sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do so shall be put on the list of the proscribed." Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol, accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart. The houses of the proscribed were looted, but there were not many buyers of their lands, since some were ashamed to add to the burden of the unfortunate. Others thought that such property would bring them bad luck, or that it would not be at all safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in their possession, or that, as they were not free from danger with their present holdings, it would be an additional risk to increase them. Only the boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the lowest prices, because they were the only buyers. Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had

Sales of confiscated property

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ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς τάδε ἀρκέσειν· ἐνέδει μυριάδων ἔτι δισμυρίων.

32. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἳ μάλιστα πλούτῳ διέφερον· καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον ἑκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς ἀποκρυψαμέναις τι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ δούλοις μήνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον, οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου· Φουλβίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἤνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὠσάμεναι, διισταμένων τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὁρτησίας ἐς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης· "ὃ μὲν ἥρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναιξὶ τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν· ὃ δὲ οὐχ ἥρμοζεν, ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεώσμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε μὲν ἤδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἠδίκησθε· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε, περιστήσετε ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δή τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἠδικῆσθαί φατε, προγράψατε καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε πολέμιον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθεί-

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hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their preparations for the war, were still short by 200,000,000 drachmas.

Taxes imposed upon women

32. The triumvirs addressed the people on this subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the women-folk of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavian and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass.

Protest of Hortensia

There, through the mouth of Hortensia, whom they had selected to speak, they spoke as follows: "As befitted women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to the ladies of your households; but having been treated as did not befit us, at the hands of Fulvia, we have been driven by her to the forum. You have already deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you; if you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. But if we women have not voted any of you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your

CAP. V λομεν οἰκίαν ἢ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἢ ἐπηγάγομεν ἕτερον ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχοῦσαι;

33. "Τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι φατὲ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισήνεγκαν; ἃς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρὰ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἅπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλούντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἑκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ χωρίων ἢ προικὸς ἢ οἰκιῶν, ὧν χωρὶς ἀβίωτόν ἐστιν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν οἴκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἢ κατηγόροις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἢ βίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβος; ἴτω τοίνυν ἢ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἢ Παρθυαίων, καὶ οὐ χείρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μητέρων. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμέν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμῖν κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος ἢ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίννας ἠνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας, ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος· ὑμεῖς δέ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν."

34. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὁρτησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς ἠγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχαζόντων

army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honours,—why do we share the penalty when we did not share the guilt? CHAP. V

33. "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honours, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers did once rise superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and even these not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. What alarm is there now for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other! We did not contribute to Caesar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are re-establishing the commonwealth."

34. While Hortensia thus spoke the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public

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θρασυνοῦνταί τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν· ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐξωθεῖν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἔξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης οἵ τε ὑπηρέται τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφον ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἱερέα καὶ πανταεθνῆ, μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένου, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὁμοίου φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὁμοίοις, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτίκα δανείσαιεν αὐτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγκαιεν.

35. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιαῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἐπεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χείρονα ἐποίουν. ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ᾐτοῦντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαν ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ἔπαυλιν ἢ ὅλον κλῆρον, οἱ δ' αὖ παῖδας ἀνδράσι θετοὺς γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕτερα ἔδρων, κτιννύντες τε τοὺς οὐ προγεγραμμένους καὶ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαιτίων διαφοροῦντες. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας προγράψαι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπιστροφήν τινα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γιγνομένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν

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meeting when the men were silent; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and themselves not so much as furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception, should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year's income to the war expenses.

The triumvirs relax the impost

35. Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs; but even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of [rich] men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the

Outrages committed by soldiers

CAP. V ἔδεισεν ἅψασθαι, μὴ σφᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν παροξύνῃ, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς, οἳ σχήματι στρατιωτῶν συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνοις, λαβὼν ἐκρέμασε.

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CAP. VI 36. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· ὅσα δὲ ἐκ παραλόγου τισὶν ἐγίγνετο ἔς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς ἀξίωσιν ὕστερον, ἐμοί τε ἥδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὠφελιμώτερον ἐς μηδὲν ἀποκάμνοντας ἐλπίζειν περιέσεσθαι. αἱ μὲν οὖν φυγαὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἦσαν ἐς Κάσσιον ἢ Βροῦτον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κορνιφίκιον, καὶ τόνδε τῆς δημοκρατίας μεταποιούμενον· ὁ δὲ πολὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ᾔει, γειτονεύουσαν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πομπηίου σφᾶς προθύμως ὑποδεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν καιρῷ τότε ἔδειξε, κήρυκάς τε περιπέμπων, οἳ πάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς περισῴζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ θεράπουσι προλέγων διπλάσια τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἱροῦσι· λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ στρογγύλα ὑπήντα τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ τριήρεις τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεον, σημεῖά τε ἀνίσχουσαι τοῖς ἀλωμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα περισῴζουσαι. αὐτός τε τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἀπήντα καὶ ἐσθῆτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐμερίζετο· τοῖς δὲ ἀξίοις καὶ ἐς στρατηγίας ἢ ναυαρχίας ἐχρῆτο. σπονδῶν τέ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γιγνομένων ὕστερον, οὐ συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν

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soldiers lest he should excite their rage against himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves who were masquerading as soldiers and committing outrages in company with them. CHAP V

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36. Such are examples of the extreme misfortunes that befell the proscribed. Instances where some were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised to positions of honour are more agreeable to me to relate, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing that they should never fall into despair, but that hope will always remain to them. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa, where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The greater number, however, went to Sicily because of its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius received them gladly. The latter showed the most admirable and timely zeal in behalf of the unfortunate, sending heralds who invited all to come to him, and offered to those who should save the proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the rewards that had been offered for killing them. His small boats and merchant ships met those who were escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the shore and made signals to those wandering there and saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met the newcomers and provided them at once with clothing and other necessaries. To those who were worthy he assigned commands in his military and naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms

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Examples of escape among the proscribed

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διαφυγόντας ἐς ταύτας περιλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρησιμώτατος οὕτως ἀτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίγνετο, καὶ δόξαν ἐκ τοῦδε ἀγαθήν, ἴδιον ἐπὶ τῇ πατρῴᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἥσσονα τήνδε ἐκείνης, προσελάμβανεν· ἕτεροι δὲ ἑτέρως φυγόντες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις ἢ τάφοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, σὺν ἐπινοίαις οἰκτραῖς διεγένοντο. φιλανδρίαι τε παράδοξοι γυναικῶν ὤφθησαν καὶ παίδων ἐς πατέρας εὔνοιαι καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότας. καὶ τῶνδε ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.

37. Παῦλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λεπίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδουμένων, ἐπὶ ἀδείας ἐξέπλευσεν ἐς Βροῦτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον μετὰ Βροῦτον· ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ὕστερον γενομένης καλούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἠξίωσε. Λεύκιον δέ, τὸν Ἀντωνίου θεῖον, ἡ Ἀντωνίου μήτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὄντα εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπικρύπτουσα, αἰδουμένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ τήνδε τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος. βιαζομένων δ' ὕστερον ἐξέθορεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προκαθημένῳ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἔφη· "ἐμαυτήν, ὦ αὐτοκράτορ, μηνύω σοι Λεύκιον ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ ἕξειν, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁμοῦ κατακάνῃς· τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπικεκήρυκται." ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιμεμψάμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθήν, μητέρα δὲ οὐκ εὐγνώμονα (οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρῆναι περισῴζειν Λεύκιον, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν, ὅτε σου τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι

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those who had taken refuge with him. In this way he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest service, from which he gained a high reputation of his own in addition to that which he had inherited from his father, and not less than that. Others escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was restored. Remarkable examples were shown of the love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their fathers, and of slaves, quite beyond nature, for their masters. Some of the most remarkable of these I shall now relate.

The brother of Lepidus allowed to escape

37. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of a triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of a triumvir. When, later, they attempted to take him by force, she hurried into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister, saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now.

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πολέμιον ἐψηφίζετο), παρεσκεύασεν ὅμως Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα κάθοδον τῷ Λευκίῳ ψηφίσασθαι.

38. Μεσσάλας δὲ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ νέος ἐς Βροῦτον ἔφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δείσαντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρόνημα προύγραψαν οὕτως· "ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν ἀπέφηναν ἡμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπιδημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῃρεῖτο, ἐξῃρήσθω τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ Μεσσάλας." ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐδέξατο, Βρούτου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου περὶ Θρᾴκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ τε ἔτι ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἄρχειν σφῶν τὸν Μεσσάλαν αἱρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας ἐπιβαρούσῃ τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύσασθαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἰκειότερος δὲ ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ συνῆν, μέχρι κρατούσης Ἀντωνίου Κλεοπάτρας ἐπιμεμψάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὕπατόν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀποχειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὖθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιος, καὶ περὶ Ἄκτιον ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφισταμένους καὶ νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι.

Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἅμα τῷ Μεσσάλᾳ καὶ ἐναυάρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλλαγάς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

39. Ἀκίλιος δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως λαθών, οἰκέτου δ' αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὁπλίταις, τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἔπεισεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόν-

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Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship.

Messala and Bibulus

38. Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Caesar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavian, who made him consul in place of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavian sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them.

Bibulus was received into favour at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavian and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

Acilius and Lentulus

39. Acilius fled from the city secretly. His hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger

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ων πέμψαι τινὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ συμβόλων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐδίδου. ἡ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προθεῖσα ἔφη διδόναι μὲν ὡς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἃ ὑπέσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δέ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἐψεύσθη τῆς φιλανδρίας· οἱ γὰρ ὁπλῖται καὶ ναῦν ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκιλίῳ καὶ προύπεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν. Λέντλος δέ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ συμφεύγειν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἐθέλων αὐτὴν συγκινδυνεύειν ἑαυτῷ, λαθὼν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι σῴζοιτο καὶ στρατηγοίη. ἡ δ', ὅποι γῆς ἐστιν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσαν ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἥδε σὺν θεράπουσι δύο· μεθ' ὧν ὥδευεν ἐπιμόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἷα θεράπαινα, μέχρι διέπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου περὶ ἑσπέραν. καὶ οὐ δυσχερῶς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαθοῦσα, εὗρε τὸν Λέντλον οὐχ οἷα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν χαμευνίῳ καὶ κόμῃ καὶ διαίτῃ πονηρᾷ πόθῳ τῆς γυναικός.

40. Ἀπουληίῳ δὲ ἠπείλησεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμηνύσειν αὐτόν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων αὐτὴν ἐπήγετο, συνήνεγκε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον, ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίναις ὁδεύοντι φανερῶς. Ἄντιον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στρωματοδέσμῳ κατείλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τοῖς μισθοῦ φέρουσι καὶ διήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ

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reward, to send some of their number to his wife with a private token that he gave them. When they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying that she gave it in return for what they had promised, although she did not know whether they would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and saw him off to Sicily. The wife of Lentulus asked that she might accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon his movements for that purpose, but he was not willing that she should share his danger, and fled secretly to Sicily. Being appointed praetor there by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved and elevated to office. When she learned in what part of the earth her husband was she escaped with two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch over her. With these she travelled in the guise of a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare, until she was able to make the passage from Rhegium to Messana about nightfall. She learned without difficulty where the praetor's tent was, and there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a praetor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and wretched food, mourning for his wife.

Escape of Apuleius and Rheginus

40. The wife of Apuleius threatened that if he should fly without her, she would give information against him. So he took her with him unwillingly, and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight by travelling with his wife and his male and female slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the bundle to some porters to carry from the house to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to

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θάλασσαν, ὅθεν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν. Ῥηγῖνον *δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς ἐς ὑπόνομον λυμάτων καθῆκεν, ἐς ὃν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμβῆναι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοδμίαν, νυκτὸς ἄλλης εἰς ἀνθρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ ὄνον ἄνθρακας φέροντα ἐλαύνειν ἔδωκεν· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκ βραχέος διαστήματος ἡγεῖτο φορείῳ φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ὁπλιτῶν τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονοήσαντός τε καὶ ἐρευνωμένου, δείσας ὁ* Ῥηγῖνος *ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὡς ὁδῷ χρώμενος ἠξίου τὸν ὁπλίτην φείδεσθαι γυναικῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀνθρακέα μετ' ὀργῆς ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν (ἐστράτευτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῷ ποτε ἐν* Σ*υρίᾳ) καὶ "ἄπιθι χαίρων," εἶπεν, "αὐτοκράτορ· τοῦτο γάρ μοι προσήκει καὶ νῦν καλεῖν σε."* Κ*οπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἤτησε παρὰ* Ἀ*ντωνίου, σώφρων μὲν οὖσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἰωμένη.*

41. Γ*έταν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔδοξε καίειν ὡς ἀπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθὼν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωνήτῳ κατέλιπεν, ἔνθα ὁ πρεσβύτης μεταμορφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἔλυσε τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας δεδαπάνητο.* Ὄ*ππιον δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὑπὸ γήρως ἀσθενεστάτου μένειν ἐθέλοντα, ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως ἐξήγαγέ τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι* Σ*ικελίας ἄγων ἢ φέρων ἐκόμισεν, οὐδενὸς ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονοήσαντος ἢ ἐνυβρίσαντος, οἷόν που καὶ τὸν* Αἰ*νείαν γράφουσιν*

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Sicily. The wife of Rheginus concealed him by night in a sewer, into which the soldiers were not willing to enter in the daytime, on account of the foul odour. The next night she disguised him as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a short distance, borne in a litter. One of the soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and searched it. Rheginus was alarmed and hastened his steps, and as if he were a passer-by admonished the soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter, who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to call you." The wife of Coponius purchased his safety from Antony, although she had previously been chaste, thus curing one evil with another.

41. The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting his appearance and nobody mocking him. In like manner they say that Aeneas was respected

Oppius saved by his son

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αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν ὕστερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀγορανόμον· δεδημευμένης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπάνημα οἵ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμισθὶ συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ὅσον ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἐρρίπτει, ἕως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλούτισαν. Ἀρριανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν· "τὸν ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεὶς προγραφέντα ἔκρυψέ τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περιέσωσε."

42. Μετέλλω δὲ ἤστην υἱός τε καὶ πατήρ· καὶ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν πατὴρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον αἰχμάλωτος ἑάλω καὶ ἠγνοεῖτο, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἐστρατηγήκει καὶ ὅδε περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον. ἐν δὲ Σάμῳ διακρίνοντι τῷ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ μὲν παῖς συνήδρευεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἤγετο κόμης τε ἔμπλεως καὶ δύης καὶ ῥύπου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶνδε μεταμορφώσεως. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεκλήθη, ἀνέθορεν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ μόλις ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν πατέρα ἠσπάζετο σὺν οἰμωγῇ· ἐπισχὼν δέ ποτε τοῦ θρήνου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔφη· "οὗτος μέν σοι πολέμιος γέγονεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ σύμμαχος· καὶ χρὴ τοῦτον μέν σοι δοῦναι δίκην, ἐμὲ δὲ γέρας εὑρέσθαι. αἰτῶ δή σε τὸν πατέρα σῴζειν δι' ἐμὲ ἢ

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even by his enemies when carrying his father. In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the aedileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office,[1] the artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra, so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father's tomb: "Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him, and saved him."

The Metelli, father and son

42. There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The father held a command under Antony at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavian and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavian was classifying the prisoners at Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavian, "He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me

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[1] Aediles were involved in much expense by reason of the public games they were accustomed to give during their term of office.

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δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ συγκατακανεῖν." οἴκτου δὲ ἐξ ἁπάντων γενομένου μεθῆκε σῴζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον ὁ Καῖσαρ, καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ δωρεῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μεταθοῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπ᾽ Ἀντωνίου, πολλάκις ὑπεριδόντα.

43. Μᾶρκον δὲ οἱ θεράποντες σὺν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς χρόνον διεφύλαξαν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μέχρι τῆς ἀδείας δοθείσης ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐξῄει τῆς οἰκίας ὡς ἀπὸ φυγῆς. Ἵρτιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκφυγὼν τῆς πόλεως διώδευε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐκλύων τε δεσμώτας καὶ συνάγων τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ πολίχνια δῃῶν, ὀλίγα πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ μείζω, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἔθνος ἐχειρώσατο καί, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ἐς Πομπήιον μεθ᾽ ὅσων εἶχε διέπλευσε.

Ῥεστίωνι δὲ οἰομένῳ μόνῳ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἵπετο λανθάνων, ἀνάθρεπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥεστίωνος καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον εὖ παθών, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὕστερον ἐστιγμένος. ἀναπαυομένῳ δὲ ἐν ἕλει τῷ Ῥεστίωνι ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεράπων ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα ὀφθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν παρόντων στιγμάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημονεύειν τῶν πρότερον εὐεργετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἴς τι σπήλαιον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δέ τινος ἀμφὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τοῖς ἐγγὺς ὁπλίταις περὶ τοῦ Ῥεστίωνος γενομένης καὶ χωρούντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, ὁ οἰκέτης εἵπετο συνεὶς καί τινα πρεσβύτην προοδεύοντα προδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ

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at the same time on his account." There was much emotion on all sides, and Octavian spared Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile to himself and had scorned many offers made to him to desert Antony.

Marcus and Restio saved by slaves

43. The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius.

When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave of his own rearing, who had been very well treated by him formerly, but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighbourhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him

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ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ὁδοιπόρου περισχόντων, "Ῥεστίωνα," ἔφη, "ἔκτεινα, τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ δεσπότην, τάδε μοι τὰ στίγματα ἐγχαράξαντα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενοι διὰ τὸ γέρας, ἠπείγοντο μάτην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἀναστήσας διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν.

44. Ἄππιον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἐπαύλει, τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθῆτα ἐνέδυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν οἷα δεσπότης ἀνακλιθεὶς ἑκὼν ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότου, παρεστῶτος ὡς οἰκέτου. Μενηνίου δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαβόντων ὁπλιτῶν, θεράπων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούλων συνεργούντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἕως ὅδε μὲν ὡς Μενήνιος ἑκὼν ἀνῄρητο, Μενήνιος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν διέφυγεν. Οὐίνιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Οὐινίου, Φιλήμων, οἰκίαν κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔκρυψεν ἐν λάρνακι, ἃς ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἐς χρημάτων ἢ βιβλίων ἔχουσι φυλακήν· καὶ νυκτὸς ἔτρεφε μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. ἕτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος, τάφον δεσπότου φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπόσυνον προγραφέντα ἐφύλασσεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.

Λουκρήτιος ἀλώμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ᾔει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, φορείῳ φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἷά τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἑνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόντων τὸ σκέλος συντρίβεντος τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιθεὶς ᾔει. παρὰ δὲ ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος, ἔνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα προγραφεὶς ἑαλώκει, εἶδε λόχον ὁπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τόπου καταπλαγεὶς συνεκρύφθη

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for a highwayman, but he said, "I have killed Restio, my master, the man who marked me with these scars." The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city, to find their mistake. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily.

44. Appius was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave. When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinius had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recesses thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the night-time, until the return of peace. Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the tomb with his father.

Faithful freedmen

Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise of a sick man, by the two slaves to the city. One of the bearers broke his leg, so Lucretius walked leaning upon the other. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with the slave

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μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν τάφῳ. τυμβωρύχων δὲ τοὺς τάφους ἐρευνωμένων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τυμβωρύχοις παρέσχε περιδύειν, μέχρι Λουκρήτιον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερισάμενος ἐσθῆτος, ἧκε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξύ, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσαντο παρὰ τῶν προγραψάντων καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

45. Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύφθη παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεισε κάθοδον αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὁ Σέργιος ὕστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἔφερε φανερῶς.

Καὶ οἵδε μὲν οὕτως ἐσῴζοντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς ὑπηρέτας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις διῆλθεν, ἐπιθλιβόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθείη πρὸς ἑτέρου, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἁπάντων οἷα στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπονδὰς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπεσταλμένον, μέχρι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τριήρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

46. Ἀπουλήιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρούντιος ὑποκριθέντες εἶναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς στρατιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς λοχαγοὶ διώκοντες ἑτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὁδὸν διελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλυον καὶ τοὺς

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in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to these robbers to be stripped till Lucretius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him, shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship.

45. Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavian and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative.

Daring exploit of Pomponius

Thus these all were saved. As for Pomponius, he arrayed himself in the garb of a praetor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a praetor attended by lictors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a praetor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius.

Strange battle between fugitives

46. Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons, while for the remainder of their course they took different roads, releasing prisoners

CAP. VI ἀποδράντας συνέλεγον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἑκατέρῳ γενομένης σημεῖά τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ὄψις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφί τινι λόφῳ σταθμεύουσι, μεγάλῳ δέει καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ περινεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἔδοξαν ἀλλήλους ἑκάτερος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι καὶ συμπλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐπιβαροῦσάν σφισιν ἐς ἅπαντα ἐπεμέμφοντο. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βροῦτον, ὁ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον, ὁ μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκατῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε τῷ Βρούτῳ Βιθυνίας καὶ Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ παραδοὺς Βιθυνίαν κατήχθη. Οὐεντίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος εὐθὺς μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδησεν ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔπεισε καὶ ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὁπλίτας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὡς λοχαγὸν ἐξήγαγε· τήν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Σικελίας διώδευσαν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλάκις ἑτέροις λοχαγοῖς ζητοῦσιν Οὐεντίδιον.

47. Ἕτερον ἐν τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ φέροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαῦλον οἴκημα μισθωτόν. στρατιώτου δ' αὐτῷ παρακατοικισθέντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φέρων τὸν φόβον ἐς θαυμαστὴν τόλμαν ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ κειράμενος ἡγεῖτο ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμῃ διδασκαλείου

CHAP VI and collecting fugitives until a sufficient force was obtained by each to display the standards, the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they each arrived separately at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedman put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and they traversed the whole of Italy as far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius.

47. Another proscript was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome

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μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. Οὐολούσιος δὲ ἀγορανομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλον ὀργιαστὴν τῆς Ἴσιδος ἔχων ᾔτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδυ τὰς ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ διῆλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομπήιον. Σίττιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν ὄντα καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψιλοῦς ἀναλώσαντα, ἐφύλασσον, σιδηροφοροῦντές τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπερύκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι μαραινομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπρέσβευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίττιον τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας εἰργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν. Σίττιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἢ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε τῆς ξένης ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν φιλόσοφός τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς, ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκώς, καὶ ἴσως διὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προυγράφη. φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύοι, κατήγετο· καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὄντα ἐνέφηνε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε Καληνοῦ.

48. Οὐεργίνιος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἡδὺς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα χρήματα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μύσους τε πίμπλανται καὶ φόβων ἐς ὕστερον μεγάλων, περισώσαντες δὲ δόξης τε εὐσεβοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρημάτων ὕστερον πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεσ-

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itself, which he taught until the return of peace. Volusius was proscribed while holding the office of aedile. He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head and thus as a priest of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the soldiers from approaching their walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf and obtained permission for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was thus the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honour of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.

How Varro the historian was saved

Escape of Virginius the orator

48. Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more

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τέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνέφευγον ὡς ὁμοδούλῳ καὶ γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο· ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐδίδασκε κἀκείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὕνεκα μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἴη δικαιότερα καὶ πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, "ἔνθα μοι τὸ γύναιον," ἔφη, "ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων συνετάξατο." καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἵδε πεισθέντες κατήεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφῖκτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἠιόνα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργινίου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς Πομπήιον προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράποντα ὅμως ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος ἐξαγγέλλειν ὑπολιποῦσα. καὶ ὁ θεράπων τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἰδὼν ἀνέθορέ τε ὡς ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυεν ὡς ὁρωμένην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὅτῳ κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον ἅπασιν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀξιοῦντα σφᾶς περιμένειν, ἔστε μετακληθείη τὸ γύναιον, ἢ συνελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσοντες φιλοπόνως· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχόν τε τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἔτι θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν.

Ῥέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξάμενος ὡς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ἤτει χρήματα, μηνύσειν ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ὁ δέ, οἷόν τι καὶ

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certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honourable and larger reward by going with him to the sea-shore, "where," said he, "my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money." They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared.

A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would

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Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγων ἐποίησεν, ἀντηπείλει μηνύσειν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄγοι, μέχρι δείσας ὁ ναύκληρος διέσωσεν ἐς Πομπήιον.

49. Μᾶρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῶν προεγέγραπτο μὲν καὶ ὅδε διὰ τόδε, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συλλαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνήσατο Βαρβούλας. δεξιὸν δὲ ὁρῶν ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις καὶ χρήματα διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν ἅπασι καὶ συνετὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ θεράποντος φύσιν ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις εἴη, περισώσειν ὁμολογήσαντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ γένος ἀναπλάσσοντα καὶ ὄνομα καὶ προτέρους δεσπότας ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίσας ὀκνήσειν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ εἵπετο καὶ ὥς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντώντων τις φίλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μᾶρκον ὡς οἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήνυσε τῷ Βαρβούλᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δι' Ἀγρίππα, καὶ ἀφείθη τῆς προγραφῆς ὁ Μᾶρκος, καὶ φίλος ἐγίγνετο Καίσαρι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ ἡ τύχη περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοτέροις· Βαρβούλας τε γὰρ ἡττηθέντος Ἀντωνίου λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος αὐτὸν ὡς ἀγνοῶν ὠνήσατο, ἐκθέμενος δὲ ἅπαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ᾔτησέ τε καὶ ἔτυχε τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμείψασθαι.

CHAP. VI

tell how the captain was helping him to escape for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried Rebilus over to Pompeius.

Adventures of Marcus Lollius

49. Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were proscribed he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula's friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was, and he obtained from Octavian, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavian, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavian and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted.

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Τοῖσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα παρέμεινεν· ἦρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐν ἄστει οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ. 50. Βαλβίνῳ δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος ἰδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιᾶσδε ἀνάγκης παρέστη. Μαικήνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα βουλεύσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδὶ συνεγνωκέναι· Λεπίδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερεώρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικήνας ἐς Ἄκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, ἵνα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὖσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ᾔτει παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο καὶ διωθουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις εἶπεν· "ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπιείκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικί με ἢ παιδὶ συγγνῶναι λέγοντες· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν προέγραψα, κάτω δέ εἰμι τῶν προγραφέντων. ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ σοὶ παρεστῶτα, χάρισαί μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπαντήσειν ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγυωμένῳ ἢ μετ' ἐκείνης ἀπελθεῖν δεομένῳ." ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λεπίδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβῖνος ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναῖκα.

51. Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιάδε ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βροῦτον

CHAP. VI

Balbinus and Lepidus

This similarity of good fortune attended these two in after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in the city the same year. 50. Balbinus took refuge with Pompeius and was restored with him, and became consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by Octavian and reduced to private life, presented himself to Balbinus under the following stress. Maecenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for high treason against Octavian and also the young man's mother as knowing of the crime. Lepidus himself he overlooked as being a person of no consequence. Maecenas sent the son to Octavian at Actium, but in order to spare his mother the journey on account of her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to the consul for her appearance before Octavian. As nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented himself frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to this effect: "The accusers testify to my innocence, since they say that I was not an accomplice of my wife and son. I did not cause you to be proscribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed. Consider the mutability of human affairs and grant to one, who stands by your side, the favour of becoming security for my wife's appearance before Octavian, or let me go there with her." When Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his reverse of fortune, and released his wife from bail altogether.

51. Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils. From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after

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καὶ μετὰ Βροῦτον ἀποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἐλθὼν τιμῆς παρ' ἑκατέρῳ καὶ στρατηγίας ἠξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδόσεως ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν· καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ Ἄκτιον συμφορὰν ἐπισταλεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κικέρων ὅδε ὑπατεύων ἀνέγνω τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα πρότερον ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλή. Ἄππιος δὲ διένειμε τοῖς θεράπουσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ θεράποντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἄππιον, ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλπίδα μεταφέροντες. καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεὼς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίας Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βροῦτον οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τόδε καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχθη καὶ Καίσαρι φίλος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐπιόντι ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι προύθηκεν εἰκόνας Βρούτου καὶ ἐπῃνέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

VII

CAP. VII

Τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δόξαν τισὶ τῶν προγραφέντων εἴς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· 52. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμοις διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν ἐδονεῖτο· καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μείζους ἦσαν ἀμφί τε Λιβύην

CHAP. VI

The son of Cicero escapes and is restored to favour

the latter's death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honoured with a military command. Afterwards Octavian, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed pontifex, and not long afterwards consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavian this same Cicero, as consul, announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached the port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quaestor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavian. Once when Octavian came to visit him Publius displayed some images of Brutus, and Octavian praised him for doing so.

VII

CHAP. VII

The war in the provinces

THE above are some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted. 52. In the meantime, while these transactions were taking place at Rome, all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among

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Κορνιφικίου πρὸς Σέξστιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπηίου. πάθη τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη πόλεσιν ἐκ δοριαλωσίας, ὑπεριδόντι δὲ τῶν ἐλασσόνων τὰ μέγιστα δὴ καὶ δι' ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περιφανέστατα Λαοδικεῦσι καὶ Ταρσεῦσι καὶ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Παταρεῦσι καὶ Ξανθίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

53. Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι παλαιάν, ὅσην Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο· ἣν δὲ Ἰόβας εἶχεν, ὕστερόν τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαΐου Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νέαν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβύην· εἴη δ' ἂν τῆς Νομαδικῆς. Σέξστιος οὖν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς νέας ἡγούμενος ᾔτει Κορνιφίκιον ἐκστῆναί οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὡς Λιβύης ἁπάσης ἐν τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καίσαρι νενεμημένης. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τὴν λῆξιν ἔφη γιγνώσκειν τῶν τριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένων, οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλῳ μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατὸν δὲ εἶχεν ὁ μὲν βαρύν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος κουφότερόν τε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορνιφικίου περιιὼν ἀφίστη καὶ Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγὸν τοῦ Κορνιφικίου, μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμάχετο πολιορκούμενος. ἐδῄου δὲ καὶ Λαίλιος, ἕτερος τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατηγός, τὴν Σεξστίου Λιβύην καὶ Κίρταν περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.

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these wars was that in Africa between Cornificius and Sextius, that in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and that against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated captures of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these.

Cornificius and Sextius in Africa

53. That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Caesar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa, being appointed by Octavian, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavian in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves, and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash round and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Laelius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it.

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54. Καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας ἔς τε Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Σιττιανούς, οἳ ἀπὸ τοιᾶσδε συντυχίας οὕτως ὠνομάζοντο. Σίττιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίκην ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑποστὰς ἔφυγε καὶ στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσε καὶ τοῖς Λιβύων βασιλεῦσι πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. ἀεὶ δὲ οἷς προσθοῖτο νικώντων, ὁ Σίττιος ἐπὶ ὀνόματος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγύμναστο λαμπρῶς. Γαΐῳ τε Καίσαρι διώκοντι τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ συνεμάχησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν διώνυμον, ἀνεῖλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν Μασανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς. Μασανάσσης δ' ἦν Ἀραβίωνος τοῦδε πατήρ, Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷδε τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ Βόκχῳ, Μαυρουσίων βασιλεῖ, δεδώρητο· καὶ τὸ μέρος ὁ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδιεῖλεν. Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέφυγε πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Πομπηίου, Γαΐου δὲ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ Λιβύων τινὰς ἀεὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπηίῳ πέμπων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόκχον ἀφῄρητο τὴν χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνῃρήκει δόλῳ. εὔνους δὲ ὢν τοῖς Πομπηιανοῖς διὰ τάδε, κατεγίνωσκεν ἀεὶ τῆς μοίρας ὡς ἀτυχούσης ἀμειλίκτως καὶ Σεξστίῳ προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοί, κατ' εὔνοιαν οἵδε πατρῴαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

55. Θαρρήσας οὖν ὁ Σέξστιος ἐξῄει τῆς πολιορκίας ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου καὶ

CHAP. VII

Adventures of Sittius

54. Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians, who received their name from the following circumstance. A certain Sittius, who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial. Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country. As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Caesar pursued the Pompeians to Africa Sittius joined him and destroyed Juba's famous general, Saburra, and received from Caesar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa, not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Caesar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio at that time fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain, but returned to Africa after Caesar's death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men, whom he received back in a state of good training, and so expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favour of Octavian. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Caesar.

A battle at Utica

55. Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by which Ventidius was killed and his army put to

τοῦ στρατοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἵπετο κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν. καὶ τάδε μαθὼν ὁ Λαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς Κίρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ᾔει καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μετὰ πλειόνων ὄντι. Λαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφικίου μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων πέμψαντος ἔς τινα κατάσκεψιν, ὁ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα ἔπεμψεν ἱππομαχεῖν τῷ Λαιλίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ᾔει μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ἱππομαχίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐθορύβει, μέχρι τὸν Λαίλιον οὐχ ἡσσημένον πω δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ ἀποκλεισθείη, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ καταλαβεῖν, Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτώμενον αὐτοῦ κτεῖναί τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλῶσαι. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐξῄει τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, βοηθήσων τῷ Λαιλίῳ· καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξστιος ὄπισθεν γενόμενος ἐξήπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα κακοπαθῶς.

56. Ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις ἀνδράσιν ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κορνιφικίου παρέδυ λαθών. καὶ Ῥώσκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ, τοῦ χάρακος ἁλισκομένου, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινι τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε καὶ ἀνῃρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ μάχῃ κάμνων μετεπήδα πρὸς Λαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολωνόν, οὐκ εἰδώς πω περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· μεταπηδῶντα δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος ἱππέες ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ γιγνόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Λαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καθορῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων

headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. When Laelius heard the news he raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius. Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite him, although the latter had the superior force. Cornificius sent Laelius with his cavalry to make a reconnaissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to engage him with his own cavalry in front, and Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion that Laelius, although not vanquished, feared lest his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius saw this he sallied out with the greater part of his force to assist Laelius. Sextius, who was in his rear, dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned upon him and drove him back, although suffering severely.

56. Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved. When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian, offered his throat to one of his assistants and was killed. Cornificius, overcome by the fatigue of the engagement, retired toward Laelius on the hill, not yet knowing what had happened to his camp. While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio charged upon him and killed him, and when Laelius, looking down from the hill, saw what had happened he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the

CAP. VII πεσόντων ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν· καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Κορνιφικίῳ, οἱ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δ' ὅπῃ δύναιντο ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς Σιττιανοὺς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῷ Καίσαρι καθίστατο, συγγινώσκων ἁπάσαις.

VIII

CAP. VIII Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Σεξστίου καὶ Κορνιφικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεῖ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δόξαντι εἶναι· 57. τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλαβόντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῄρητο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἴκτῳ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἐζήτει τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἠμύνοντο αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν, εὐθὺς δὲ ἐξῄεσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνηντο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ᾕρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἵδε ὑπὸ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγεῖσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βροῦτος. οὔτε δὲ ἄρχειν πω τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἄστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες ἐξῄεσαν ἔτι στρατηγοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν

CHAP. VII soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians, but the cities he brought into allegiance to Octavian and granted pardon to them all.

End of the War in Africa

VIII

CHAP. VIII THIS was the end of the war in Africa between Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted. 57. Resuming the narrative of Cassius and Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has already been said, in order to refresh the memory. When Caesar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Caesar's funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Caesar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith. Cassius, however, and Brutus were still city praetors, though Cassius had been chosen by Caesar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still praetors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone,

B.C. 44

Brutus and Cassius

CAP. VIII

Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίζετο, τῆς βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραινούσης, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκεῖνοι στρατὸν καὶ χρήματα ἤγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες.

58. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβώνιον δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα καὶ Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου πολιορκοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ βουλὴ Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς τὰς προτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐπανήγαγον καὶ Βρούτῳ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα προσέθεσαν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονεύουσιν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὅ τι κελεύοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βροῦτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Κάσσιος φθάνει Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δυώδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατευόμενα καὶ γεγυμνασμένα προσέλαβεν ἀθρόως· οὗ τὸ μὲν ἓν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν Συρίᾳ καταλελοίπει, τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Καικίλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενής, Σέξστος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιαιτώμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπήγετο ἀσχημόνως καὶ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ βραδέως ὑπήκουεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν ἕλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ ἀσχήμονος καὶ πληγῶν ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ

CHAP. VIII

the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia.

B.C. 43

Cassius raises an army in Syria

58. While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Caesar long before. One of these Caesar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Caecilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman. This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the

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ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἡ στρατιὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον συνηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, διαγωνιεῖσθαι μέχρι θανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς ταῦτα συνηνάγκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἕτερον, συνεγύμναζον ἄμφω καὶ Στάιον Μοῦρκον, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιπεμφθέντα, γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκῳ δ' ἧκεν ἐπίκουρος Μάρκιος Κρίσπος ἐκ Βιθυνίας μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιόρκουν ὁμοῦ πάντες ἓξ τέλεσιν ἤδη.

59. Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολιορκίαν σπουδῇ καταλαβὼν τόν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα παρελάμβανεν ἑκόντα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ Μούρκου τέλη καὶ Μαρκίου, κατά τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόντων καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπακουόντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρᾳ καταλελειμμένων· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων οὐ προπεπυσμένον, ἄφνω περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασε προσθέσθαι οἱ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατόν, δείσαντα τέσσαρσι τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δυώδεκα τελῶν ἀρίστων ἀθρόως ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Παρθυαίων ἱπποτοξόται συνεμάχουν, δόξαν ἔχοντι παρὰ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις, ἐξ οὗ Κράσσῳ ταμιεύων ἐμφρονέστερος ἔδοξε τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

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sight of which the army resented, and Julius was shot down. This act was followed straightway by repentance and fear of Caesar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Caesar sent Staius Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcius Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether.

59. Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcius, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate obeyed him in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, or who had been left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quaestor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general.

He gains four legions from Egypt

CAP. VIII

60. Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περι τὴν Ἰωνίαν, κτείνων Τρεβώνιον καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ μισθῷ διὰ Λευκίου Φίγλου παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας· ὡς δέ οἱ τάδε ἕτοιμα ἦν· ἐπῄει τῇ Συρίᾳ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελῶν, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φίγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς Κασσίου στρατιᾶς ἐς Λαοδίκειαν οἰκείως ἔχουσάν οἱ παρῆλθεν, ἐπί τε χερρονήσου συνῳκισμένην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἔχουσαν ὅρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσειν τε ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βούλοιτο, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Δολοβέλλας διαφύγοι, τόν τε ἴσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον ὄντα, λίθους καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην ἐξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προαστείων καὶ τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Φοινίκην καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Ῥόδον.

61. Ὑπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν Σιδωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, καὶ κατέδυσαν μὲν ἑκατέρου νῆες ἱκαναί, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλεν Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐς Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ στρατηγοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀράδιοι καὶ Σεραπίων, οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθων, ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ ναῦς, ὅσας εἶχον· ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ Κασσίῳ μὲν προύφερε λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε Αἰγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. καὶ ἀπὸ

CHAP. VIII

Cassius marches against Dolabella

60. Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, where he put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When all was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land himself, while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea, a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phoenicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.

61. Being ignored by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, not waiting to consult Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really co-operating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Caesar. This

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τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη προπεπόμφει δι' Ἀλλιηνοῦ καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἕτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν, ἄνεμοι δὲ ἐπεῖχον. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Λύκιοι οὔτε Κασσίῳ οὔτε Βρούτῳ συμμαχήσειν ἔφασκον ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δολοβέλλᾳ δοῦναι ναῦς προπομπούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέναι συμμαχούσας.

62. Ἑτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δὶς τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς ναυμαχίᾳ ἡσσᾶτο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αἰρομένου τοῦ χώματος ἔκοπτεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν. τόν τε νυκτοφύλακα αὐτοῦ Μάρσον οὐ δυνηθεὶς διαφθεῖραι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἡμεροφυλακοῦντας αὐτῷ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μάρσου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθεισῶν αὐτῷ πυλίδων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν. ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν Δολοβέλλας προύτεινε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ σωματοφύλακι αὑτοῦ καὶ τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Κασσίῳ σῶστρον ἴδιον· ὁ δὲ τεμὼν ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, διεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ Μάρσος ἑαυτόν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν μὲν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατιὰν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου, Λαοδικέων δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐσύλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκόλαζε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφοραῖς βαρυτάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήνεγκεν ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

63. Μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὥρμα, πυνθανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ διαπλευσεῖσθαι πρός τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν δὲ κωλῦσαί τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ

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was the reason why she had sent him the four legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war.

He captures Laodicea

62. When Cassius had again made such preparations as he could with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella's walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to bribe Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force, and while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight through a number of small gates that were secretly opened to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his private sentry and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella's army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

Dolabella killed

63. After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavian and Antony with a strong fleet, he proposed to prevent its

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τίσασθαι τῆς γνώμης τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνθυμιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἄρτι τῶν Ἀλλιηνοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς ἤδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἰόνιον περώντων. ἄκων μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίων ἱπποτοξότας ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἔστελλε περὶ μείζονος συμμαχίας, ἣ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐν Συρίᾳ μεθ' ἑνὸς τέλους ἀπέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προύπεμψεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, οἳ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίῳ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπανήγαγον.

64. Ταρσέων δ' ἐς στάσιν διῃρημένων οἱ μὲν τὸν Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐπελθόντα· ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως σχήματι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. καὶ παραλλὰξ αὐτῶν προτιμώντων ἑκάτερον, ὡς εὐμεταβόλῳ πόλει χαλεπῶς ἐχρῶντο ἑκάτεροι· Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντές τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ἀπαιτούμενοι σὺν ὕβρει, τά τε κοινὰ ἀπεδίδοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα

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sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favourable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavian and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighbouring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

Brutus informs Cassius that Octavian and Antony are crossing the Adriatic

Cassius captures Tarsus

64. The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honours upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitefully as a fickle-minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with violence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred articles used in religious processions

CAP. VIII εἶχον ἐς πομπὰς ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδενὸς δὲ μέρους οὐδ᾽ ὣς ἀνυομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένοι τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναῖκές τε καὶ γέροντες ἐλεεινοί, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὤνιοι, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. καὶ διεχρῶντο οἱ πλέονες ἑαυτούς, ἕως ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας ἐπανιὼν ᾤκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφορῶν ἀπέλυσε.

IX

CAP. IX 65. Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λαοδίκεια τοιάδε ἐπεπόνθεσαν, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος συμβολήσαντες ἀλλήλοιν, Βρούτῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιὰν ἁλίσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἔργον ἐς Μακεδονίαν· τέλη τε γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυθέναι τὸν Ἰόνιον ὀκτώ· Κασσίῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἔτι περιορᾶν ὡς τριφθησομένων ἐν σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Λυκίους ἐξελεῖν, εὔνους τε ὄντας ἐκείνοις καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι γίγνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν ὧδε, ἐχώρουν Βροῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὡς δὲ κρατίστοις τὰ ναυτικὰ ἀνδράσι συνοισόμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν Μύνδῳ.

66. Ῥοδίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὁ

CHAP. VIII and the temple offerings into money. As this was not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea.

IX

CHAP. IX

Cassius summons Rhodes to surrender

65. WHEN Brutus and Cassius had their conference, Brutus was in favour of uniting their armies and making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away of themselves for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavian and Antony, who had fleets, lest they should fall on the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus.

66. The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the

CAP. IX

δὲ λεὼς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεί οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων πρὸς οὐχ ὁμοίους ἄνδρας ἐμνημόνευον. ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον τὰς ἀρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες ἔπεμπόν τινας ἐς Μύνδον ὅμως, οἳ τὸν Κάσσιον ἠξίουν μήτε Ῥόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης ἀεὶ τοὺς καταφρονήσαντας, μήτε συνθηκῶν, αἳ Ῥοδίοις εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους· εἰ δέ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο, ἐθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθέσθαι, καὶ κελευούσης ἔφασαν συμμαχήσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ λόγων ἔφη κρινεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπενηνοχέναι Ῥοδίους Κασσίῳ, Δολοβέλλᾳ συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλοις συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίῳ δὲ δεομένῳ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἁλωμένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει τυράννους, οἳ δώσουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ δίκας, δώσουσι δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὰ ἐκείνων προτιμῶντες, ἢν μὴ θᾶσσον ἀνέχωνται τῶν κελευομένων. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτοὺς ἠμείψατο, καὶ οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες Ῥοδίων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐδημαγώγουν Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσειε τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.

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The Rhodians resolve to fight

common people were in high spirits, because they recalled former victories achieved over men of different character.[1] They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they nevertheless sent messengers to Myndus to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance.

When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still larger fleet, and that Demetrius had done so before him.

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[1] Demetrius Poliorketes (B.C. 307) and Mithridates (B.C. 88), who are referred to presently.

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Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἵλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ’ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέαν, 67. ἔπεμπον δ’ ὅμως ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγένητο τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἤδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λιπαρέστερον· καὶ ἐδεῖτο, τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος, ὡς γνωρίμου. “μὴ πόλιν ἀναστήσῃς Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλλην ἀνήρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερος ἀνήρ· μηδὲ αἰσχύνῃς ἀξίωμα Δώριον, οὐχ ἡσσημένον, ἐξ οὗ γεγόναμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλάθῃ καλῆς ἱστορίας ἧς ἔμαθες ἐν Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μέν, ὅσα Ῥόδιοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθριδάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ σὺ φῂς τάδε κάμνειν· ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέ, ὅσα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ’ ἑτέρων καὶ κατ’ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχήσαμεν, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι στῆλαι παρ’ ὑμῖν.

“Τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἕνεκα καὶ ἀξιώσεως ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἀδουλώτου καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθω· 68. πρὸς σὲ δέ, ὦ Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδώς τις ἔστιν ἐξαίρετος ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφήν τέ σου καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ διατριβὴν καὶ ἑστίαν, ἣν ᾤκησας, καὶ τοὐμὸν διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμέ, ἐλπίσαντα μὲν ἐς ἕτερα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μηδ’ αὐτή σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζηται πεπαιδευμένῳ τε ὑφ’ αὐτῆς καὶ τεθραμμένῳ μηδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης

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They send Archelaus as an ambassador to Cassius

Thereupon they elected Alexander as president, who is the magistrate exercising the supreme power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their fleet. 67. Nevertheless, they sent still another ambassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes, to present a more earnest petition. This he did, taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar manner, and saying, “O friend of the Greeks, do not destroy a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not destroy Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget the famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome—at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending—at Rome, our services to you, among others those that were rendered when we fought with you against Antiochus the Great, concerning which you have monuments inscribed in our honour.

“So much, Romans, for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our good-will toward you. 68. As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated, lived, and had your homes, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me who hoped that I should some time plume myself on your education with different expectations, but I am now pleading this relation in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where one of two things must necessarily happen: either

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θάτερον, ἢ Ῥοδίους ἀποθανεῖν πάντως ἢ Κάσσιον ἡσσᾶσθαι. συμβουλεύω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει, τοιῶνδέ σε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἁπτόμενον ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς ἔργου. θεοὺς δ' ὠμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἔναγχος διὰ Γαΐου Καίσαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐσπένδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐτίθεσθε, αἳ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις ἰσχύουσιν, οὐ παρὰ φίλοις καὶ τροφεῦσιν; φείδου δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξης τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους· ὡς οὐδέν ἐστι συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ὃ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἀπίστους ἐς ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίοις."

69. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μεθίετο τῆς χειρός, ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυεν αὐτῇ, ὡς ἐρυθριᾶσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, ὑφελόντα δὲ ὅμως εἰπεῖν· "εἰ μὲν οὐ συνεβούλευσας Ῥοδίοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν με, σύ με ἠδίκεις· εἰ δὲ διδάσκων οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμυνῶ σοι. ἠδικούμην δὲ δή που σαφῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν καὶ παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδευσάντων καὶ θρεψάντων, τὸ δὲ ἑξῆς προτιμώντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὃν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνιαρότερον, ἐμοῦ μὲν καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὅσων ὁρᾶτε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθερούντων, ὦ Ῥόδιοι φιλε-

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that the Rhodians perish utterly, or that you, Cassius, be defeated. In addition to my entreaty I give you the advice that while engaged in such important tasks in behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when you recently concluded the treaty with us through Gaius Caesar, and to the oaths you added libations and gave the right hand, assurances valid even among enemies; shall they not be valid among friends and guardians? Besides dreading the judgment of the gods, have regard for the opinions of mankind, who consider nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies."

Reply of Cassius

69. When the old man had thus spoken he did not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough. The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and was slighted by my instructors and guardians. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavouring to liberate their

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λεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ αὐτὴν καταδουλοῦντος ἑτέροις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εὔνως ἔχοντες ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐμφύλια μέν, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυναστείας ὠρεγόμεθα, πόλεμος δὲ σαφὴς τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἐστι δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοήθητον καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας· φιλίαν τε Ῥωμαίοις προφέροντες οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφομένους, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ταῦτα πασχούσης καὶ οὐδὲ ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῇ πω δυναμένης. ἡ δ' ὑμῖν ἤδη προαπεκρίνατο, ἐν οἷς ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν ἕω πάντας ἀμύνειν ἐμοί τε καὶ Βρούτῳ.

70. Σὺ δέ, εἰ μέν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τι συνεπράξατε, ὧν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μισθοὺς ἀντικεκόμισθέ που, καταλογίζῃ, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένοις οὐ συμμαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνῃ· οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄρχειν ἐθελοντὰς ὑπερμαχῆσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας, Δωριέας ὄντας. οἱ δ' ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἔργων καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε, γενομένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γάιον Καίσαρα, τῆσδε τῆς μοναρχίας ἡγεμόνα· λέγουσι δ' ὅμως αἱ συνθῆκαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύουσι Ῥωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν ἐστιν ὁ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καλῶν, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ὥς φησι τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν ᾧ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν ἔταξε τοὺς τοῦ Ἰονίου

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country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favour while pretending to abstain from our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who are sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself.

70. "Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped abundant benefactions and rewards) you remind us of, but that in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you lose sight of. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, now at least to begin to fight as volunteers for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties—treaties made with you by Gaius Caesar, the founder of the present monarchy—yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war—Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate's decree says, all the countries beyond the Adriatic are required to

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πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βροῦτος ὑμῖν προτείνει ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπήιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμμένος, τὰς δ' ἱκετείας ἐπὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἵδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βροῦτον, οἱ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον. ἔστι δὲ δή που τὸ συγκείμενον, Ῥωμαίοις Ῥοδίους βοηθεῖν, κἂν καθ' ἕνα χρήζωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὔτε στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς οὔτε Ῥωμαίους ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἢ ξένους ἢ κατακρίτους, ὡς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὦ Ῥόδιοι, τὰ συγκείμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένοι καὶ ἀλλότριοι τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακούητε."

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρωνευσάμενος τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέλυεν, 71. *Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Μνασέας, οἱ Ῥοδίων ἡγούμενοι, ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶ ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Μύνδον ὡς προκαταπλήξοντες τῷ ἐπίπλῳ· καί τί που καὶ κούφως εἶχον ἐλπίδος, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ ἐς Μύνδον ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εὐτυχῆσαι. εἰρεσίᾳ δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν χρώμενοι τήν τε πρώτην ἡμέραν ηὐλίσαντο ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεφαίνοντο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ θαυμάσαντες ἀντανήγοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἑκατέρωθεν ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυνάμεως· Ῥόδιοι μὲν γὰρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεόν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ὀξέως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδοις ἐχρῶντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ῥύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὥσπερ ἐν πεζο-*

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obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you unless you obey our orders in everything."

Sea-fight between Cassius and the Rhodians

With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away. 71. Meanwhile Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that it was at Myndus by sailing against Mithridates they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and capacity on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy's line, turned around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater momentum.

CAP. IX μαχίᾳ. τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πολεμίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν Ῥόδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι καὶ διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἡ μὲν ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυκλευμένοις, αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς βαρυτέρας τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγίγνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦσαν ἐς κουφοτέρας εὔτονοι, μέχρι Ῥόδιαι μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ δύο ἀνερράγησάν τε καὶ κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαι μὲν ἐπανῆλθον ἐς Μύνδον, ἐπεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων αἱ πλέονες βλαβεῖσαι.

72. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύνδῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ῥοδίων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνομένην ὁ Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὄρους καθεώρα· ὡς δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Λώρυμα, Ῥοδίων τι φρούριον ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον διεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων ὑπὸ Φαννίῳ τε καὶ Λέντλῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέπλει ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον καὶ περιστήσας τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸ πεζὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἡσύχαζεν ὡς ἐνδωσόντων τι τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὖθις εὐθαρσῶς, δύο δὲ καὶ τότε ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν. καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη πάντα τε ὅπλων ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φάννιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τοῖς πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν

Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was CHAP. IX enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they had been confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements[1] against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were The Rhodians retreat captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part of them also having suffered injury.

72. Such was the result of the naval engagement of the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched the fight while it was going on from a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus. He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and Cassius lays siege to the city naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius,

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[1] ἀποσίμωσις was apparently a swerving out of the line to avoid direct attack.

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οὐκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα· ἐλπίζων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγμένους, οἳ τότε ἀνίσταντο. Ῥόδος μὲν δὴ δύο πείραις καμοῦσα ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιορκεῖτο· καὶ οὐδέν, ὡς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεῖ καὶ ἀδοκήτῳ, παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν. ὅθεν ἦν εὔδηλον ἁλώσεσθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἢ χερσὶν ἢ λιμῷ· καὶ τάδε Ῥοδίων οἱ συνετώτεροι καθεώρων, καὶ Φάννιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Λέντλος διελέγοντο.

73. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ἄφνω Κάσσιος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μετ' ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ, βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἔργου. εἴκαζον δὲ οἱ πολλοί, καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, τοὺς χαρίεντας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπανοῖξαι πυλίδας ἐλέῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προμηθείᾳ τροφῶν.

Ὧδε μὲν ἑαλώκει Ῥόδος, καὶ Κάσσιος ἐν αὐτῇ προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι παρεστήσατο ὡς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῖν τε κελεύσας τὸν στρατὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάνατον ἐπικηρύξας, εἴ τις ἁρπάσειεν ἢ βιάσαιτό τι, αὐτὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλει Ῥοδίων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀχθέντας ἐκόλαζε θανάτῳ· ἑτέροις δέ, ἀμφὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οὐχ εὑρεθεῖσι φυγὴν ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα συλήσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητήν· καὶ ἐπεκήρυξε τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασι θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασι

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who was advancing his naval force, prepared for wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with him turrets in sections, which were then elevated. Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats, beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it became evident that the city must speedily be taken either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent of the Rhodians perceived this and opened communications with Fannius and Lentulus.

Rhodes captured and put under contribution

73. While this was going on Cassius suddenly made his appearance in the midst of the city with a chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as seems the fact, that those of the citizens who were favourable to him had opened the small gates, being moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of famine.

Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side of it to indicate that he had taken the city by the spear. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to remain quiet, and threatening with death any who should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by name about fifty citizens, and when they were brought, put them to death. Others, who were not found, numbering about twenty-five, he ordered to be banished. All the money that was found, either gold or silver, in the temples and the public treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens who had any to bring it to him on a day named, proclaiming death to those who should conceal it,

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δεκάτην, δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυψαν, οὐκ ἐς τέλος ἐλπίζοντες ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν· διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν καὶ κολαζομένων τῶν μηνυομένων ἔδεισάν τε καὶ προσθεσμίαν ἑτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλέονα τῶν προτέρων.

74. Αἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥοδίων συμφοραὶ τοιαίδε ἦσαν, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐᾶρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὑπελέλειπτο· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἡδόμενος τῇ ταχυεργίᾳ τῆς ἁλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπέταττεν ὅμως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπράσσοντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεοπάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ παρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον· τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων αἱρουμένη καὶ τέως διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ᾑρεῖτο διὰ τὸν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβον. ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετά τε ὁπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπε ναυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταίναρον, . . . περισυράμενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λείαν, ὅσην ἔφθασε.

X

CAP. X

75. Τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαβόντι

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together with a reward of one-tenth to informers and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At first many concealed what they had, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when they saw the rewards paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having procured the appointment of another day, some of them dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than the former collections.

Ten years' tribute exacted from Asia

74. Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet, heavily provisioned, to Octavian and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Caesar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighbourhood of Taenarum; [and this he did] collecting as much booty as he could come upon from the Peloponnese.

X

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75. We will now relate the transactions of Brutus in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned

CAP. X

ἄνωθεν, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου στρατιάν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, ὅσην Ἀπουλήιος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. ψηφισαμένης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, Οὐατινίου τοῦ πρότερον ἄρχοντος Ἰλλυριῶν παραδόντος, ἓν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἱππέων πλῆθος καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἤσκει τρόπον. ἀγείροντι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θρᾴκιος τοιάδε γίγνεται. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνή τινος τῶν βασιλίσκων, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἔτι ὄντι μειρακίῳ, ἧκεν αὐτὸν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θησαυρούς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα Κυζικηνοῖς ἀνατρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι σχολάσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὗρε παράδοξον χρυσίου τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔκοπτε καὶ νόμισμα ἐποίει· 76. ὡς δὲ ἦλθέ τε ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἔδοξε Λυκίους καὶ

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Brutus in Macedonia

above in order to refresh the memory. When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Boeotia. The Senate having voted that he should use this money for his present necessities and that he should have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in addition, he came into possession of the three legions of the army which were in Illyria, which Vatinius, the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him. Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Caesar. He had a large force of cavalry, light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he drilled them in the Roman way. While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, whose husband had been killed by his enemies, being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband's treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver.

This he coined and converted into currency. 76. When Cassius came, and it was decided to begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus

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Ροδίους προεξαιρεῖν, ἐτράπετο Λυκίων ἐπὶ Ξανθίους πρώτους. οἱ δὲ τά τε προάστεια σφῶν καθεῖλον, ἵνα μὴ ἐς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος μηδ' ἐς ὕλην ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου, τὸ μὲν βάθος οὔσης πεντήκοντα ποδῶν βαθυτέρας, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κατὰ λόγον τοῦ βάθους, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὴν ἑστῶτες ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον ὥσπερ ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν ἔχοντες ἀπέρατον. ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος αὐτὴν ἔχου βιαζόμενος καὶ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ἐργαζομένων προυτίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὕλην μακρόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ μετέφερεν, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ἐλπισθὲν ἢ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι κωλυόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἢ πολλοῖς μησὶ μόλις ἔσεσθαι, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξείργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι κατακλεισθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.

77. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανημάτων εἰς τὰ τείχη, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ πάντας ἐνήλλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀκμῆσιν αἰεὶ κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρωμένοι πάντες, ὅμως ὑπέμενον, ἕως σφίσιν αἱ ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὗται κατεσύρησαν καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερρώγεσαν, ὑποτοπήσας τὸ ἐσόμενον ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκέλευσε τὰς ἐφέδρους τῶν πυλῶν τάξεις ἀποστῆναι· καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι νομίσαντες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα. ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὖθις ἐς τὰς πύλας· καὶ τῶν φυλάκων αὐτὰς προαποκλεισάντων ὑπὸ

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He marches against Xanthus

turned his attention first to the inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia. The latter destroyed their suburbs in order that Brutus might not effect a lodgment or find material there. They also surrounded the city with a trench and embankment of more that fifty feet vertically and of corresponding breadth, from which they fought, so that standing upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as though protected by an impassable river. Brutus invested the place, pushed forward mantlets for his men, divided his army into day and night forces, brought up material from long distances, hurrying and cheering them on as if for prizes, and spared neither zeal nor labour. So the work which it seemed most likely could not be done at all in the face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of many months, was accomplished by him in a few days, and the Xanthians were now subjected to close siege.

Desperate defence of the place

77. Brutus attacked them now with battering-rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing continually. The defenders being always pitted against fresh soldiers although fatigued, and all wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their parapets remained. When these were battered down and the towers broken through, Brutus, foreseeing what would happen, ordered those who were attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, thinking that the enemy's works were deserted and unguarded, darted out by night with torches to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to the gates, the guards of which closed them before

δέους, μὴ συνεσπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, φθόρος ἦν Ξανθίων πολὺς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀποκεκλεισμένων.

78. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐξέδραμον αὖθις οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀναχωρούσης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἅπαντα ἀθρόως. πεπετασμένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἑτέροις δὲ εἰσωθιζομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπέπεσον αἰφνίδιον αἱ πύλαι, εἴθ' ὑπό του Ξανθίων εἴτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγέντων, ὥστε τῶν ἐσβιασαμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἔνδον ἀποληφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ἀνασπάσαι, χωρὶς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ξανθίων, βιασάμενοί ποτε μόλις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν διέδραμον· κἀνταῦθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξευόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τόξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, διέδραμον. οἱ δ' ἔξω τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ δεδιότες, Βρούτου περιθέοντος αὐτούς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πεῖραν, οὔτε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας, οὔτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπεπρησμένων εὐποροῦντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδίαζον κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τείχεσι προστιθέντες ὡς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδήρια ὀξέα καλῳδίοις περιτιθέντες ἐσφεν-

they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush in with them—and so there was round the gates a great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out.

78. Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they set fire to all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis without hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under heavy volleys of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge by the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every expedient, Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls and climbed up as if by ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled

CAP. X δόνων τὰ σιδήρια ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καί, ὅτε καταπαγείη τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνίμων.

79. Οἰνοανδεῖς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξανθίους ἔχθραν τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπετροβάτουν ἄνω· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμιμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδα ἀνέῳξαν, ᾗ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους αἰωρουμένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἔκοπτον, οὐ περιβεβλημένας ἔτι τῷ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός, ἀντικοπτόντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἔξωθεν ἑτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργούντων. Ξανθίων δὲ σὺν μεγάλη πάνυ βοῇ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὖσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιθεόντων, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς ἔκοπτον, ὑπὸ μανιώδους ὁρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι, δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβολον εἴη τοῖς ἐντὸς οὖσιν.

80. Ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλτατα σφῶν κατέκαινον, ἑκόντα τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γιγνομένης ὁ Βροῦτος νομίσας ἁρπαγὴν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνεῖργε διὰ κηρύκων· ὡς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ γιγνόμενον, ᾤκτειρεν ἀνδρῶν φρόνημα φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπονδὰς περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρὰς προνενησμένας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν

them up to the walls, and whenever one of them caught fast they climbed up. CHAP. X

Capture of Xanthus

79. The Oenandians, who were neighbours of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of the crags. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to hack at the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others joined in hacking it from outside, to help them. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without, who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

The Xanthians destroy the city and themselves

80. When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set

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καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἅψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαξαν. Βροῦτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα ἐδύνατο, μόνους θεράποντας εἷλε Ξανθίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γύναια ὀλίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας.

Ξάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο ἐλευθερίας οὕνεκα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἁρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατηγοῦντος, ὧδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθειραν, καὶ τάφος Ξανθίοις ἡ πόλις ἀνειληθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ἁρπάγου τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου φασὶν ὅμοια παθεῖν, οὐχ ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τοσῆσδε γῆς ἀρχὴν ὑπακοῦσαι.

81. Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατῄει, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακούειν ἢ τὰς Ξανθίων συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι· προσήγοντό τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Ξάνθιοι ὀδυρόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα καὶ παραινοῦντες ἀμείνονα βουλεύσασθαι. Ξανθίοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένων πω τῶν Παταρέων, ἐδίδου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπό τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐβόων ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὅ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῴγνυον. ὁ δ' ἐσελθὼν ἔκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἐξήλασε, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον ἡ πόλις εἶχε, συνενεγκὼν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἑκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ζημίαις καὶ μηνύμασιν,

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fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. Brutus saved such of the temples as he could, but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free women and hardly 150 men.

Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city then became the tomb of the Xanthians hemmed in by Harpagus; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.

Capture of Patara

81. Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Patarans cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and

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οἵοις καὶ Κάσσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσέφερον, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐμήνυσε χρυσίον κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ χρυσίον ἔδειξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἁπάντων ὁ μὲν δεσπότης ἐσιώπα, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισῴζουσα τὸν υἱὸν εἵπετο, βοῶσα αὐτὴ τὸ χρυσίον κρύψαι. ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερωτώμενος, τὴν μὲν ἤλεγχε ψευδομένην, τὸν δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πάθους καὶ μεθῆκεν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι τὸ χρυσίον φερομένους, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην ὡς πέρα τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐκρέμασε.

82. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκῃ Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ τήν τε ἅλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνῄει. Μυρέων δέ, ἃ προσέτασσε, δεχομένων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπανῄει. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπρέσβευε, συμμαχήσειν τε ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ ἐσοίσειν, ὅσα δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσφοράς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπεδίδου τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἐκέλευε περιπλεῖν ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἦγε καὶ Κάσσιον ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἀνέμενεν, ὡς ἐς Σηστὸν ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦντες. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀμφὶ τῇ Λιβύῃ βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ ναυάγια εἶδε μέχρι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἀρρωστίᾳ μόλις

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rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave testified that his master had concealed his gold and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed with her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with his mother's grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for officious zeal in accusing his superiors.

82. At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbour and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus; where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had

Murcus sails to Brundusium to blockade Antony

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αὐτὴν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐπανιοῦσαν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπραξίας εἴη μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσον ὁρμισάμενος ἐκώλυε τὴν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιὰν ἢ ἀγορὰν ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακραῖς, ὅσαις εἶχεν, ὀλίγαις· ἀπεμάχετο δὲ καὶ πύργοις, οὓς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, ὅτε τὸν στρατὸν ὁλκάσιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολὺ φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβάνοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μούρκου. κακοπαθῶν δὲ ἐκάλει Καίσαρα, Πομπηίῳ Σέξστῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

XI

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83. Ὧδε δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπήιον. νεώτερος ὢν ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπηίου παίδων ὑπερώφθη μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαΐου Καίσαρος περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς οὐδὲν μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἠλᾶτο περὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν λῃστεύων σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ λανθάνων, ὅτι εἴη Πομπήιος. πλεόνων δὲ ἐς τὸ λῃστεύειν αὐτῷ συνιόντων χείρ τε ἦν ἤδη καρτερὰ καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο Πομπήιος ὤν. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγονότες ἠλῶντο, ὡς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα συνέτρεχον, καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετ' αὐτῷ, ἀφῃρημένος τὰ πατρῷα, ὥς μοι προείρηται. ὧδε δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἦν ἤδη λῃστηρίου δυνατώτερα

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returned home with difficulty and in ill-health, he sailed for Brundusium in order that he might not be idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at the island lying opposite the harbour, and prevented the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought him with the few war-ships that he had, and with towers which he mounted on floats, whenever he sent out detachments of his army on transports, waiting for a strong wind from the land, in order that they might not be captured by Murcus. As he fared badly he called for help from Octavian, who was contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island.

XI

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B.C. 45

Doings of Sextus Pompeius in Spain

83. With Pompeius the situation was as follows. Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was at first disregarded by Gaius Caesar in Spain as not likely to accomplish anything of importance on account of his youth and inexperience. He roamed about the ocean with a few followers, committing piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius. When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed his name. Presently those who had served with his father and his brother, and who were leading a vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader, and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him from Africa. His forces being thus augmented, his doings were now more important than robbery, and

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καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εὐρυτάτην ἐθνῶν οὖσαν, περιθέοντός τε καὶ μεθιπταμένου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας οὐχ ὑπομένοντος ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι. ὧν ὁ Γαῖος πυνθανόμενος ἔπεμπε σὺν στρατῷ πλέονι Καρρίναν ἐκπολεμήσοντα Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, κουφότερος ὤν, ἐπεφαίνετο ἄφνω καὶ ἀφιπτάμενος ἠνώχλει καὶ πόλεις ἤδη τινὰς ᾕρει βραχυτέρας τε καὶ μείζους.

84. Καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἔπεμψε τῷ Καρρίνᾳ διάδοχον Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν Πομπηίῳ. ὅν τινα πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὅ τε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῃρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατεκάλει Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ γενόμενος περιεσκόπει ἔτι τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄρχειν, καθὰ ἦρχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ᾽ ὣς ἀνῆλθεν, ὅσαι δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβὼν ἐξέπλευσε σὺν αἷς εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνικὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι προγραφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἵρτιός τε καὶ Φάννιος ἔπεισαν ἐκστῆναι Πομπηίῳ Βιθυνικὸν Σικελίας.

85. Ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ναῦς ἔχων καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ στρατὸν ἤδη πολύν, ὅσον τε πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ὅσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἦγον ἢ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐς ἐπινίκια τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελμέναι.

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as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius spread through the whole of Spain, which was the most extensive of the provinces; but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Caesar. When Caesar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small.

B.C. 44

84. Then Caesar sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on warfare on equal terms, Caesar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but taking what ships he found in the harbours, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius.

B.C. 43

He sails to Sicily

B.C. 42

85. In this way Pompeius possessed himself of Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before and those who had fled from Rome, both freedmen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for

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ταῖς γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις αἵδε μάλιστα· τὴν νίκην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο καί, ὅσα δύναιντο, κρύφα ἀντέπρασσον· ἀποδιδράσκοντές τε τῶν πατρίδων ὡς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυνάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς Πομπήιον, ἀγχοτάτω τε ὄντα καὶ περιφίλητον ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε. παρῆσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἔμπειροι θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ ἡγεμόσι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπῆρτο. καὶ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήκοος ὢν ἔπεμπε Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν στόλου, Πομπήιον ὡς εὐχερὲς ἔργον ἐξελεῖν παραπλέοντα· καὶ αὐτὸς ᾔει διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς αὐτῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ συμβολήσων περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουιδιηνῷ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπαντᾷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμαχίας ἀμφὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆες, κουφότεραί τε οὖσαι καὶ ναυτικωτέρων ἀνδρῶν, ταχυτῆτι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προὖχον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἅτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν. ὡς δ' ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίγνετο καὶ διεσπᾶτο ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἧσσον ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνόν, οὔτε ἑστῶτες βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀηθείας οὔτε τὰς κώπας ἔτι ἀναφέρειν δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πηδάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθῆ, συνεταράσσοντο, ὥστε κλίνοντος ἐς δείλην ἑσπέραν ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἀνεκάλει. ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος. νῆες δὲ ἑκατέρων ἴσαι διεφθάρατο, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λελωβημένας τε

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the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever they could do against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavian learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet, as though it were an easy task, to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, while he himself passed through Italy with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllaeum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, laboured heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current the crews of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters, while those of Salvidienus, not having their sea-legs through want of experience, and being unable to work their oars, or manage their rudders, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the

Sea-fight between Pompeius and Salvidienus

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καὶ πεπονημένας ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑποχωρήσας ἐς λιμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ Βαλαρόν.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν Ῥηγίνοις μὲν καὶ Ἱππωνεῦσι μεγάλας πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν αναλύσειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων (ἐδεδίει γὰρ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μάλιστα), καλοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων Σικελίαν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος, μικρὸν ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, τὰς ὁλκάδας ἐφύλασσεν ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου διαφερούσας. αἱ δὲ προεπέμποντο μὲν ὑπὸ τριήρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ κατὰ θεὸν οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἀδεῶς, οὐδὲν τῶν προπομπῶν δεηθεῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ἐφήδρευεν ἐπανιούσαις κεναῖς. αἱ δὲ καὶ τότε, καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἄγουσαι, διέπλεον ἱστίοις στρογγύλοις, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπό του δαιμόνων βεβλάφθαι νομίζων, ὑπέμενεν ὅμως τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλεούσας παρασκευὰς ἢ τροφὰς ἢ τὸν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον στρατὸν βλάπτων, ὅσα δύναιτο. καὶ αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον, ὡς χρησιμώτατον δή, μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους ἑτέρου

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straits, where he repaired what was left of his damaged and wasted fleet.

Octavian and Antony cross the Adriatic

86. When Octavian arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the straits. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundusium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavian, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundusium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavian, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundusium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favourable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavian and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Domitius Ahenobarbus[1] was sent by Brutus and Cassius to co-operate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for as the

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[1] This was the son of Caesar's enemy of the same name who was killed at Pharsalus.

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καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐπέμφθη· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τροφὰς δαψιλεῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἐδόκει τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διακλείσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυσί τε μακραῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ὑπηρετικαῖς πλέοσι καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ διαπλέοντες ἠνώχλουν, 87. Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ Νωρβανός οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτὼ τελῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ᾗ μόνη διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν γνώριμον ὁδόν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου περάσασι, πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Ῥασκούπολις δὲ καὶ Ῥάσκος ἤστην ἀδελφὼ Θρᾳκίῳ βασιλίσκω, μιᾶς ἄρχοντε χώρας, οἳ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας διεφέροντο. καὶ Ῥάσκος μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον συνεμάχει, Ῥασκούπολις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, τρισχιλίους ἱππέας ἔχων ἑκάτερος. πυνθανομένοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον περὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη τὴν μὲν δι᾽ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας ἐπίτομόν τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ λεωφόροι οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὰ Σαπαίων στενὰ ἄγειν, κατεχόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμήχανα ἐς δίοδον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ περίοδον τριπλασίονά τε καὶ χαλεπήν.

88. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἐς κώλυσιν μὲν ὁδῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾶν, τροφῶν δὲ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς Θρᾴκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας, ὅθεν ἐπὶ

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triumvirs did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut off their convoys from Italy.

And so Murcus and Domitius, with their 130 war ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy. 87. Meanwhile Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octavian and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpilans and the Sapaeans, tribes under the rule of Rhascupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhascupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhascupolis told them that the one by way of Aenus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapaeans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but the roundabout road was difficult and three times as long.

Their advance-guard march to Philippi

88. Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not to close the passage to them but had crossed to Thrace instead of Macedonia for want of provisions, marched toward Aenus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and

CAP. XI Λυσιμαχείας τε καὶ Καρδίας,[1] αἳ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρᾳκίου χερρονήσου διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὁπλιτῶν ἐννεακαίδεκα τέλη, Βρούτου μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἐννέα, ἐντελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐς δύο που τέλη μάλιστα ἀναπληρούμενα, ὡς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς ὀκτώ. ἱππέες δὲ ἦσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν Κελτοὶ καὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θρᾷκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι, Κασσίῳ δὲ Ἴβηρές τε καὶ Κελτοὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ ἱπποτοξόται Ἄραβές τε καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ εἵποντο βασιλέες καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, πεζόν τε ἄγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἱππέας ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους.

XII

CAP. XII 89. Τοσήδε μὲν στρατιὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσῇδε ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλαχόθι χρειῶν. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀνεπλήρουν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων τισὶν ὀφειλομένας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν περιουσίας χρημάτων πεφροντικότες, οἰκειούμενοι δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτούς, Γαΐῳ μάλιστα Καίσαρι

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[1] The text says that they marched toward Aenus and Maronea and thence toward Lysimacheia and Cardia, which would be the reverse of the route they actually took to Philippi. Schweighäuser judged that this was a copyist's blunder.

Cardia, which enclose the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them to the gulf of Melas.[1] Here they reviewed their army which contained in all nineteen legions of infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius nine, not full, but among them were two legions that were nearly full,[2] so that they mustered about 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, besides 2000 Thracian and Illyrian, Parthian and Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse. CHAP. XI

XII

CHAP. XII

Brutus and Cassius hold a review at the gulf of Melas

89. Such was the size of the army reviewed by Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing a lustration for the army, they completed the payment of the promised donative still due to the soldiers. They had provided themselves with an abundant supply of money in order to propitiate them with gifts, especially the large number who had

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[1] The gulf of Melas was a day's journey east, not west, of Aenus.

[2] The text is corrupt. Perhaps we should read δυώδεκα for δύο. The seventeen so-called legions were equal to twelve full legions.

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τοὺς πλέονας ἐστρατευμένους, μή τις ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος νεωτερίσειεν ἐλθόντος. καὶ αὖθις ἔδοξε τούτου χάριν καὶ δημηγορῆσαι. βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὅ τε ἴδιος καὶ συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἥδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἑκάτεροι, ἰσχυροτάτῃ σφίσι φανείσῃ· καὶ θάρσος ἦν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτίκα καὶ ἐλπὶς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατηγοῦσιν. αὐτά τε πρῶτα πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πίστιν συνῆγε· τίκτουσι γὰρ εὔνοιαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ ὡς ἐν τοσούτοις ὄντος οἵ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ σιωπὴν ἐποίουν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος (προὖχε γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ) προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

90. "Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὦ συστρατιῶται, κοινὸς ὢν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει· συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα ἔδομεν, ὃ μεγίστη πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὑμῶν τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὁρᾶτε τοσούσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὅσον ἴστε, σίτου τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμάχων κατά τε ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἥ τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινὰ ὄντα συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο

CHAP XII

served under Gaius Caesar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Caesar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful force they had ever beheld. To both the generals their immense commands were an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows:—

Speech of Cassius to the republican army

90. "A common peril, like the present, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery—the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity—you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men,

CAP. XII ἄνδρες ἐχθροί, ἴστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι᾿ αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ἡμῖν ἑτοίμως, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὖσαν ἡμῖν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

91. "Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατευόμενοί τε αὐτῷ μεθ᾿ ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελοῦμεν ὄντες, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι᾿ ἔχθραν ὑφ᾿ ἡμῶν ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπίμεμπτος ἦν, οὐχ ἡμῖν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ κἀν τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὧν οὐδεὶς νόμος οὔτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἔτι ἦν· ἅπερ ἅπαντα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἥρμοσαν, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑτέρων. ᾧ τινι ὅρκῳ βοηθοῦντες οἱ τῶν ὀμωμοκότων ἔκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ᾿ ἑαυτῶν οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐς πολὺ περιιδεῖν ἕνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ χρήσιμος, τά τε κοινὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειροτονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς γιγνόμενον ἐς ἅπαντα.

92. "Ὧν ἴσως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ᾐσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἑωρᾶτε. νῦν δὲ ῥᾳδίως τε ἂν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος

our enemies, have brought against us, you understand them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems fitting to explain our reasons once more. These will prove to you that we have the most honourable and righteous cause for war. CHAP. XII

91. "We raised Caesar to his high place, serving him in war in conjunction with you and holding commands under him. We continued his friends so long that no one could imagine that we conspired against him on account of any private grudge. It was in the time of peace that he sinned, not against us, his friends (for we were honoured by him even among his friends), but against the laws, against the order of the commonwealth. There was no longer any law supreme, either aristocratic or plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers established when they expelled the kings and swore never to tolerate royal government again. We, descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves. We could no longer endure that one man, although he was our friend and benefactor, should take from the people and vest in himself the control of the public money, the armies, and the elections, and from the Senate the appointment of governors of the provinces; that he should be a law in place of the laws, a sovereign in place of the sovereign people, an autocrat in place of the senate's authority, for every purpose.

92. "Perhaps you did not understand these matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war. Yet you may easily learn about them now by observing only the part that concerns yourselves.

CAP. XII ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα ὡς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κῦρος τόδε ἐν τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιλαμβάνετε αὐτοί, προβουλευούσης μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφαλείητε, κρίνοντες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφιζόμενοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἢ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπάτους τε καὶ δημάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειροτονίαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες ἢ τιμῶντες, ὅτε κολάσεως ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίως ἄρξαιμεν ὑμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἥδε τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ὦ πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄκραν ὑπερήγαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τετιμημένοι χάριν εἶχον ὑμῖν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατον ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ περὶ Λιβύην ἐμαρτυρήσατε· καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιεῖσθε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισομένους ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰ δέοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν τὰ πολλά, ὅσα ἴστε;

93. "'Αλλ' οὐκ, ἀφ' οὗ Καῖσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν, οὐκ ἀρχήν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὕπατον, οὐ δήμαρχον ἐχειροτονήσατε ἔτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε οὐδενί, οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν εἴχετε δοῦναι μαρτυροῦντες. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἷς ὑμῖν χάριν ὤφειλεν, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνῶν, οὐ δίκης. ὃ δὲ οἴκτιστον ἁπάντων ἐγένετο, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ὑμῶν ὑβριζομένοις, ἥν τινα ἀίδιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀπεφήνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀσύλους εἴδετε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἐς

CHAP. XII You, of the people, when you go to the wars, obey your generals as masters in everything, but in time of peace you resume your mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the praetors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honours upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honoured have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know?

93. "From the time when Caesar's domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either praetor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody's deeds, nor if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whose office you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the

CAP. XII ὕβριν ἀφαιρουμένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος, ὅτι ἔδοξαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χαλεπῆναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεῦσαι. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπαχθῶς ἤνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς· ὑμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστιν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμέμψασθαι δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδ' ἐς κρίσιν ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἰσχὺν στρατοπέδων, ἃ καὶ αὐτά, τέως ὄντα τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἴδια, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

94. "Ἔδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὀλίγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικὰ ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι· ἐπισχόντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀντωνίου καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν ἀξιούντων διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τοῦδε μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐφυβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνης τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἁπάντων ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φόνου μὴ εἶναι δίκας. καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ' ἡμῖν δημοκοπήσαντος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότερον ὡς ἐναγεῖς κολάζοντες ἢ ὡς ἀνδροφόνους πορφύρᾳ τε ἱερᾷ καὶ ῥάβδοις καὶ πελέκεσι περικοσμοῦντες; ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιον τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπηίου Μάγνου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ

order of one man, because in your behalf they saw fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply grieved at this on your account, for the office of tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial by reason of the strength of the armies which, although heretofore belonging to the republic, he had made his own. So they adopted the only remaining method to ward off tyranny, and that was to conspire against the person of the tyrant. CHAP. XII

94. "It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. But since Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder, and since it was not our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country, the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Caesar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy) because he was the only son of Pompey the Great,

CAP. XII τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισαμένου παῖς καὶ ὅτι μικρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἠνώχλει λανθάνων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, κατεκάλεσέ τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τὸ τίμημα αὐτῷ τῶν πατρῴων ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔκριναν ἀποδοῦναι χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα κἀκεῖνος ἀρχήν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὤν. τί δὴ πλέον ἔργον ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἢ σύμβολον ἐπιζητεῖτε τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπρᾶχθαι, πλὴν ἢ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὁμολογῆσαι; ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πράξουσι καὶ ἐροῦσι καὶ λέγοντες ἅμα ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς, ὅταν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνωνται.

95. "Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχουσιν, ἴστε. προγράφονται χωρὶς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς δημεύεται, καὶ κτείνονται χωρὶς καταδίκης ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν, ἐκ μυχῶν ἀνασπώμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχῇ, τῶν νόμων τὸν ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἐώντων. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐς ἣν οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μόνα καὶ ἔμβολα νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἄρτι καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ἱππέων κεφαλαὶ πρόκεινται· καὶ γέρα τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν ὡρισμένα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπανάστασίς τίς ἐστι πάντων, ὅσα τέως ἦν ὕπουλα, καὶ ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια καὶ μύση ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ υἱῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν. ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις ἐπιτέτριπται. καὶ τῶνδε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ θείους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους

who first took up arms to defend the republic, and CHAP. XII because the young man had made some little opposition to the tyranny in a private way in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father's property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services.

95. "What their present situation is you know. They are proscribed without trial, and their property is confiscated. Without being condemned, they are put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere, although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, praetors, tribunes, aediles, and knights are exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over,—sudden seizure of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such condition has the city now been plunged. The leaders of evil men in all this are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and

CAP. XII προγράψαντες. λέγεταί ποτε πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων ἡ πόλις ἁλῶναι· καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμνον οἱ Κελτοὶ κεφαλὰς οὐδὲ ἐνύβριζον ἀνῃρημένοις οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἔτι λαθεῖν ἢ φυγεῖν ἐφθόνουν. οὐδ' αὐτοί πω πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὧν δορὶ ἐλάβομεν, τοιαῦτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἑτέρους ἐπυθόμεθα διαθεῖναι, οἷα νῦν οὐκ ἰδιῶτις πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονὶς ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἁρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο Ταρκύνιος; ὃν διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν, ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην, βασιλέα τε ὄντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι διὰ ἓν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

96. "Καὶ τάδε, ὦ πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναγεῖς λέγουσι, καί φασι μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας, ὅτε ἀνῃρεῖτο. ὧν καὶ οἵδε εἰσὶν οἱ πλέονες, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος ἢ γνώμην δημοκρατικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρρω μὲν ὢν περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρῶμεν· ὅτι δέ ἐστι δημοκρατικοῦ πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς κατεκλήθη τε καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐς ἐσφορὰς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ μέχρι δέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα κεκελευσμένος ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίαις, ᾧ τέλη καινὰ καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπιγράφουσι; καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδ'

guardians first of all. History tells us that the city was once captured by the most savage barbarians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they never insulted the dead, they never begrudged their enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever treat in this way any city that we had captured in war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. Moreover, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of the world, that is thus wronged by those who have been chosen to set in order and regulate the republic. What did Tarquin ever do like this,—Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne for an insult to one woman under the influence of passion, and then for that one act, resolved to be ruled by kings no longer? CHAP. XII

96. "While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Caesar when they proscribe men who were not even in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preference for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he is the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part had those women in the conspiracy against Caesar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part had those plebeians who holding property up to the value of 100,000 drachmas have been ordered to submit it to valuation under pressure of informers and fines?

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ὧς ἀνεπλήρωσαν τοῖς στρατευομένοις σφίσι τὰς δωρεάς. ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲν εἴργασται, καὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα δεδώκαμεν καὶ ἕτερα ἕτοιμα ἔχομεν ἐς ἀμοιβὰς μείζονας. οὕτως ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς δίκαια πράσσουσι, συνεπιλαμβάνει.

97. "Ἐπὶ δέ γε τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔχετε, ἐς τοὺς ὑμῶν πολίτας ἀποβλέποντες, οὓς εἴδετε μὲν στρατηγοῦντας ὑμῶν πολλάκις καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπαινουμένους, ὁρᾶτε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς εὐαγεῖς καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς καταπεφευγότας καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ᾑρημένους καὶ συνευχομένους ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερα ἡμεῖς γέρα τοῖς περισώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύξαμεν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν· οὐδὲ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς Γάιον μέν, ὅτι ἠξίου μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀνῃρηκότας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιουμένους ἀρχὴν ὑπερορᾶν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ ἐς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δήμῳ προτιθέντας τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης αἱρουμένων πολεμεῖν ἑκατέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἣν ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἤδη, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἵνα τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθείσης ἰδιωτεύοιμεν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οἵδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνουσι. μεγίστη δὲ ἐλπὶς ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

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and what is more new taxes and contributions have been imposed upon them. And even while levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favour us because we do what is just.

97. "Besides the favour of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they co-operate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Caesar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides do not decide to take up arms for the same reason—the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscription already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one's cause.

CHAP. XII 98. "Μηδέ τῳ, εἰ Καίσαρος ἐγένετο στρατιώτης, ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔτι ἴτω· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου γε ἦμεν οὐδὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ' οἱ διδόμενοι μισθοὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐστε Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν συστρατιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. καὶ εἰ τόδε καὶ οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν, ἐνῆν ἀκινδύνως ἅπασι τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς πάντας ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κἀκείνην ἑλέσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα· καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκαλούμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδ' ἂν δέξαιντο ἔτι διὰ τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔδρασαν, ἴωμεν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, μετά τε πίστεως ὑγιοῦς καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας."

99. Ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων "ἴωμεν" καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἡσθεὶς ὁ Κάσσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὖθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὖθις ἔλεγε· "θεοὶ μέν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπόται, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὦ συστρατιῶται, καὶ προθυμίας ἀμείβοιντο· τὰ δ' ἐς ἀνθρωπίνην στρατηγῶν πρόνοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλέονα καὶ ἀμείνονά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάθετε οὕτως. τέλη μὲν ὁπλιτῶν ἴσα αὐτοῖς ἀντεπάγομεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν ἄλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλιπόντες· ἱππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ πολὺ προύχομεν καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ ἔθνεσι τοῖς μέχρι Μήδων καὶ Παρθυαίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ μετώπου μόνον εἰσὶ πολέμιοι, ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ νώτου Πομπήιόν τε ὁμογνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔχομεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μοῦρκος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ

98. "Let it give no one any concern that he has been one of Caesar's soldiers. We were not *his* soldiers then, but our country's. The pay and the rewards given were not Caesar's, but the republic's. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger, and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose what will be most fitting. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome." CHAP. XII

99. They all cried out, "Forward!" and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: "May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is co-operating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Murcus and

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Ἀηνόβαρβος στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ δαψιλεῖ καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξόταις αἰεὶ διαπλέοντες ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλά, καθαρευούσης πολεμίων ἡμῖν τῆς ὄπισθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης. χρήματά γε μήν, ἅ τινες καλοῦσι νεῦρα πολέμου, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἀπέδωκάν πω τὰ ὑπεσχημένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπήντησε τὰ τῶν προγραφῶν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ὠνουμένου χωρία ἐπίφθονα· οὐδ' ἑτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυμένης στάσεσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ προγραφαῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐστὶ δαψιλῆ, ὡς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἄλλα χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐθνῶν προσοδεύεται συμφερόμενα.

100. "Τροφαὶ δέ, ὃ δυσπορώτατόν ἐστι στρατοῖς μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσί, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης Μακεδονίας, ἔθνους ὀρείου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας βραχείας· καὶ τάδε χρὴ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι κακοπαθοῦσιν. εἰ δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπάγοιντο ἢ Λευκανίας ἢ Ἰαπυγίας, διακλείσουσι πάντα Πομπήιός τε καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως διὰ θαλάττης ἔκ τε νήσων καὶ ἠπείρων ἁπασῶν, ὅσαι ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ τάδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν ὄντος ὄπισθεν ἐχθροῦ· ὥστ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύνειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῷ. τοσάδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἐστίν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, παρ' ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἕτοιμα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ λόγον ἀπαντήσειε παρά τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις

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Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small craft,—besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are clear of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war, they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere, since Italy is exhausted by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us.

100. "Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and these must be carried to them overland with severe labour. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Murcus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, brought to us daily by sea without labour from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for

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ἀποδόντες ἅπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἀμειψάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμειψόμεθα καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἔργον ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. καὶ νῦν δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν, ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἤδη, συνόδου τῆσδε καὶ λόγων τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βήματος στρατιώτῃ μὲν χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἰταλικάς, λοχαγῷ δὲ πενταπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον."

101. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεαῖς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπῄνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπισχνοῦντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα διηρίθμουν καὶ ἕτερα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις πολλὰς τοῖς ἀρίστοις. τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας ἀεὶ κατὰ μέρη προαπέλυον, ἐς Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ ἀετοὶ καταπτάντες ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο αἰετοὺς ἀπ' ἀργύρου πεποιημένους, ἐκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ἤ, ὡς ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, περιέσκεπον· καὶ παρέμενον δημοσίας τε τροφῆς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἠξιοῦντο, μέχρι πρὸ μιᾶς τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπτησαν. δύο δ' ἡμέραις τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Αἶνον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Αἴνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέχρι Σερρείου ὄρους παράλια.

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102. Τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλλιον δὲ Κίμβρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους

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your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we will, under the favour of the gods, provide you a reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal with which you already advance to your task, and in remembrance of this assembly and of these words, we will make an additional gift from this platform—to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas, to each centurion five times that sum, and to each tribune in proportion."

They move against the enemy

101. Having thus spoken, and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days round the gulf of Melas the army came to Aenus and thence to Doriscus and the other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium.

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102. As Mount Serrium projected into the sea Cassius and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of

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ὁπλιτῶν ἑνὸς καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων τὴν ἀκτὴν περιπλεῖν ἔπεμπον, ἣ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐρημοτάτη, καίπερ εὔγεως οὖσα, τῶν Θρᾳκῶν οὔτε θαλάσσῃ χρωμένων οὔτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόντων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων· Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν ἑτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων καταλαβόντων καὶ θαλάσσῃ χρωμένων, ἤνθει ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χαιρόντων σφίσι καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὡραίων ἄμειψιν, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὁρᾶσθαι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ἀκτὴν αὖθις ἔρημον οὖσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παραπλέων, ὥς οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴρητο, στρατοπέδοις ἐπιτήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ κατὰ μέρη πρόσπλουν, ἵν' οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ὡς ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλίποιεν. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν ὡς προσεδόκησαν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορπίλων στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον διώδευον.

103. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς καὶ ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων κατεῖχον ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἄπορα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀθυμία τε ἐνέπιπτε, μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἧς ὑπερεωράκεσαν περιόδου νῦν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ ἠνυσμένα, ὀψὲ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ὥρας γεγονότων. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη περίοδον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Σαπαίων

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Tillius Cimber flanks the enemy with his fleet

troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, which was again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapaean pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corpilans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

Brutus and Cassius impeded by the mountains

103. When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapaeans strongly. Again Brutus and his men could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks, although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhascupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapaean

CAP. XIII ὄρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἄβατον μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸ νῦν ὑπό τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὕλης πυκνῆς· ἢν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθήσεσθαι μὲν διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν οὐδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἁρπησσὸν ποταμὸν ἥξειν, ἐκπίπτοντα ἐς τὸν Ἕρμον, ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἔτι μιᾶς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς πολεμίους περιλαβόντας, ὡς ἀπειλῆφθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν ἕξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἐδόκει τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀπορίας οὕνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλιστα τοῦ περιλήψεσθαι τοσόνδε στρατὸν πολεμίων.

104. Προπέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ παραδόντες, ὁδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος. οἱ δ' ἐπιμόχθως μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἔπραττον αὐτὸ μετὰ ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεί τινες αὐτοῖς προπεμφθέντες ἐπανῆλθον, ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀπόπτου λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ κάμνοντες ὑπό τε κόπου καὶ δίψους, ἐπιλιπόντος ἤδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἐπήγοντο, ἀνέφερον, ὅτι τριήμερόν σφισι τὸ ἄνυδρον ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πανικῷ περὶ ἐνέδρας ἐγίγνοντο, οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντες μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθεῖσι τὸν ποταμὸν ἰδεῖν, ἡγούμενοι δὲ ἑτέραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἀθύμουν καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ῥασκούπολιν, ὅτε ἴδοιεν περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ

mountain) of three days' march, which had been impassable to men up to this time on account of rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests. If, however, they could carry their water and make a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so enveloped in shade that they would not be perceived even by birds. On the fourth day they would come to the river Harpessus, which falls into the Hermus, and in one day more they would be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut him off completely and leave him no chance to retreat. They adopted this plan since there was nothing else to do, and especially because it held out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the enemy. CHAP. XIII

104. They sent a detachment in advance under command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless with enthusiastic zeal, and all the more when some who had gone ahead came back and said that they had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth day, fatigued with labour and thirst, the water which they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollected that it had been said that they should be in a waterless region only three days. So they fell into a panic fearing that they were the victims of a stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had been sent in advance and who said that they had seen the river, but they thought that they themselves were being led in a different direction. They lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him. **Severe labours in the Thracian forests**

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ἔβαλλον. Βύβλου δὲ αὐτοὺς ἱκετεύοντος ἐκπονῆσαι τὰ λοιπὰ μετ᾽ εὐφημίας, ὁ ποταμὸς περὶ ἑσπέραν ἑωρᾶτο τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ βοῆς, ὡς εἰκός, λαμπρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἡ βοή, μεταλαμβανόντων αὐτὴν τῶν κατόπιν ἑξῆς, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιῄει. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἵεντο αὐτίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ τῆς τετμημένης τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον αὐτούς· ὁ γάρ τοι Ῥάσκος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονοήσας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὁδὸν ἄνυδρον ἐλθόντος στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε, ἣν οὐδὲ θηρίον ᾤετο ὁδεύσειν διὰ τοιᾶσδε ὕλης, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐπ᾽ Ἀμφιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες ἄμφω διὰ στόματος ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς, ὁ μὲν ἀγνοουμένην ἀγαγών, ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀγνοήσας.

105. Οἱ δ᾽ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ παραλόγου τόλμης ἐς Φιλίππους παρῆλθον, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Τίλλιος ἐπικατήχθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς συνεληλύθει. οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι πόλις ἐστίν, ἣ Δάτος ὠνομάζετο πάλαι καὶ Κρηνίδες ἔτι πρὸ Δάτου· κρῆναι γάρ εἰσι περὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλαί. Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς εὐφυὲς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρίον ὠχύρωσέ τε καὶ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ Φιλίππους προσεῖπεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφου περικρήμνου, τοσαύτη

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While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnaissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage, and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapaeans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received high commendation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by a secret path, the other because he had discovered the secret.

They arrive at Philippi

105. Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that

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τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ εὖρος. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτῳ δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἤγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἕλος ἔστι καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἕω τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδίον μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων που καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὔφορον πάνυ καὶ καλόν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρῃ φασὶν ἀνθιζομένῃ γενέσθαι, καὶ ποταμὸς ἔστι Ζυγάκτης, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ θεοῦ περῶντος τὸ ἅρμα τὸν ζυγὸν ἄξαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατωφερὲς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὡς ἐπιδέξιον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἄνωθεν ὁρμῶσιν ἐκ τῶν Φιλίππων, ἄναντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως βιαζομένοις.

106. Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἕτερος λόφος οὐ μακράν, ὃν Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἔστι τὰ Ἄσυλα καλούμενα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δέκα σταδίους προελθόντι δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόφοι, Φιλίππων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀφεστῶτες, ἀλλήλων δὲ ὅσον ὀκτώ, ἐν οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχωρούντων οὐκέτι προῄεσαν· Ἀντώνιόν τε γὰρ ἐπυνθάνοντο πλησιάζειν, Καίσαρος ὑπολελειμμένου διὰ νόσον ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι. τὰ γὰρ ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἕλη καὶ λίμναι μέχρι τοῦ Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ ἄτριβῆ καὶ ἀνόδευτα· τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ

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of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapaeans and Corpileans, and on the west a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. Here it is said that Persephone was carried off while gathering flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot was broken, from which circumstance the river received its name. The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis.

They encamp there

106. There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavian having been left behind at Epidamnus on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between

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Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ αὐτὰ διετείχισαν ἀπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας ἐν μέσῳ κατέλιπον, ὡς ἓν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ποταμός, ὃν Γάγγαν τινές, οἳ δὲ Γαγγίτην λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὄπισθεν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ ταμιεῖα καὶ ἐνορμίσματα ἔμελλον ἕξειν. Θάσον μὲν δὴ ταμιεῖον, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν σταδίων οὖσαν, ἐτίθεντο, ἐνόρμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων.

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107. Οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὠχύρουν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὥδευε μὲν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ μετ' ἐπείξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων ἐς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὡς δὲ αὐτὴν εὗρεν ὠχυρωμένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ἥσθη καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέλιπε μεθ' ἑνὸς τέλους, οὗ Πινάριος ἡγεῖτο, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλα θρασέως πολὺ προελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὀκτὼ μόνους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσις τε καὶ πλεονεξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕλους· καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ὧν αὐτίκα ὠρωρύχεισαν· τήν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγοντο ἐκ Θάσου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως. ἐδόκει γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε πρᾶξαι,

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gates. Across this space they built a fortification from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites, and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant, and their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades.

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Antony arrives at Amphipolis

107. Brutus and Cassius were satisfied with the position and proceeded to fortify their camps, but Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted.

He advances boldly to Philippi

Leaving his supplies there and one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at a distance of only eight stades from the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy's situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marsh; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was 350 stades from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was

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κολωνοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἑτέρου, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πεδίον οἷα κοιλότερον ἐκλιμνάζοντος ἐνίοτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ· παρ' ὃ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας τε καὶ δαψιλοῦς ὕδατος εὕρισκε. τό γε μὴν τόλμημα, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπλησσε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρονήσει παραστρατοπεδεύσαντος. φρούριά τε ἤγειρε πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὠχύρου τάφροις καὶ τείχεσι καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὠχύρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδη οὖσαν ὁρῶν διετείχιζεν, ὃ ἔτι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔλειπεν ἐς τὸ ἕλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι ἀτείχιστον εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βρούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἕλος καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἕλει· τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διείληπτο τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

108. Οὕτω μὲν ὠχυροῦντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ μόνοις ἱππεῦσι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπειρῶντο ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα, ὅσα ἐπενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφῖκτο, οὔπω μὲν ἐρρωμένος ἐς μάχην, φορείῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κομιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσον ἐς μάχην, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀντεξέτασσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατῄεσαν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς

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compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever their work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates.

The forces on either side

108. In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavian had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each

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πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν πεζὰ ἑκατέροις ἐννεακαίδεκα ὁπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπλεόναζον ἑκατέρωθεν· ἱππέες δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑκατέρων Θρᾳκίοις ἦσαν Καίσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίῳ δισμύριοι. ὥστε πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσει καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ παρασκευῇ λαμπροτάτην ἑκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθῆναι, ἄπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθελόντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐγγίονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐδὲν ὂν δαψιλὲς οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον· οὔτε γάρ τι δι' ἐμπόρων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λαβεῖν εἶχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Λιβύης διὰ Πομπήιον οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Μοῦρκον καὶ Δομίτιον. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον ἀρκέσειν Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία, μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε χορηγοῦσαι.

109. Ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα διέτριβον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδιὼς ἔγνω βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐπενόησεν, εἰ δύναιτο βάσιμον τὸ ἕλος ἐργάσασθαι λαθών, ἵνα κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔτι ἀγνοούντων γενόμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζομένην. ἐκτάσσων οὖν αὖθις ἑκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα, ἵνα ὅλος ἐκτετάχθαι νομίζοιτο, μέρει τινὶ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔκοπτεν ἐν τῷ ἕλει δίοδον στενήν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χῶμα

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side, but those of Brutus and Cassius lacked something of being full, while those of Octavian and Antony were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer.

Brutus and Cassius hope to starve the enemy

109. Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and his generals protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the delay, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day making a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway upon them, and flanking it with stone, so

Antony seeks to force an engagement

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ἐπιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἑκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χῶμα διαπίπτοι, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεσταύρου καὶ ἐγεφύρου μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης. ἀφῄρητο δὲ τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκὼς ἔτι δόναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διόδῳ. δέκα δ' ἡμέρας ἐργασάμενος ὧδε ἐσέπεμψε λόχους ὀρθίους νυκτὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῶν ἐντὸς κατέλαβε καὶ ἐχαράκωσε φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιάν τε καὶ κλοπήν, ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια τὸν Ἀντώνιον, διετείχιζε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ ἕλος ἅπαν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασιν ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου γεγενημένην δίοδον ἀπολαμβάνων, ἵνα μήτε ἐκδραμεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδον ἔτι δυνηθεῖεν μήτε ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

110. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὡς εἶχεν, αὐτίκα σὺν ὁρμῇ τε καὶ ὀργῇ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἴδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἦγεν ἐπιστρέφων εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου, μεταξὺ τοῦ ἕλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρια φέρων καὶ κλίμακας, ὡς ἐξελὼν αὐτὸ καὶ παροδεύσων ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον. γιγνομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεταίχμιον τῶν στρατιῶν ἑκατέρων, περιήλγησαν οἱ τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει, ὧδε μάλα θρασέως αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεόντων, καὶ ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρό τινος ἐκ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἔκτεινον οἷα πλαγίους ἀθρόως, οὓς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἅπαξ

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that the earth should not fall away, and bridging the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest silence. The reeds, which were still growing round his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing his work. After working ten days in this manner he sent a column of troops by night suddenly, who occupied all the strong positions within his lines and built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of this work, and he formed the counter design of cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a transverse wall across the whole marsh from his camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same manner as Antony had done, and setting up the palisade on the top of his mounds, thus intercepting the passage made by Antony, so that those inside could not escape to him, nor he render assistance to them.

He attacks the fortifications of Cassius

110. When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led it against the cross-fortification of Cassius between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged on their own account, without any order from their officers, and killed with much slaughter (as natural in a flank attack) all they came up with. The battle once begun they charged upon

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ἔργου καὶ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ τεταγμένῳ μάλιστα κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπέδραμον καὶ τρέψαντες ἐδίωκον, μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεῖλον, ὃ κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι, Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν.

111. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὁρῶν τὴν μάχην συνερρωγυῖαν ἥσθη μὲν ὡς ἀναγκάσας (πάνυ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδεδίει), ἀναστρέφειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐκ ἔκρινεν, μὴ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσων ταράξειεν, ὡς ἀρξάμενος δ' εἶχεν ὁρμῆς, ἐχεῖτο δρόμῳ καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, μέχρι βιαζόμενος ἐνέκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου, τὴν τάξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούσῃ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς ἄλογον καταπεπληγμένῃ. ῥήξας δ' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐπὶ τὸ διατείχισμα ὥρμα, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἕλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τόν τε χάρακα ἀνασπῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωννὺς καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἐπιπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὑπομένων, ἕως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσήλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἔνδον, ἕτεροι δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίαις ἐσῆλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανέβαινον. καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἐγίγνετο ὀξέως, ὥστε τοῖς τὸ ἕλος ἐργαζομένοις ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ὑπήντων ἑλόντες ἤδη τὸ διατείχισμα. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὁρμῇ βιαίῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἕλος κατώσαντες ἐπανῄεσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἤδη τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνοι σὺν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ὅσοι τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερῆλθον, τοῦ

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Brutus routs the army of Octavian and captures his camp

the army of Octavian, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavian had in common, and captured it. Octavian himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.

Antony puts the army of Cassius to flight

111. When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck the troop of Cassius which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the débris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius' men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in

CAP. XIV ἄλλου πλήθους, ἑκατέρων ἐκτὸς ἀλλήλοις μαχομένου.

112. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἐρυμνὸν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐφύλασσον· ὅθεν αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατὸς ἡσσᾶτο καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἰδὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελὲς ἑκατέροις καὶ ὅμοιον· Βροῦτός τε γὰρ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ᾑρήκει, Ἀντώνιός τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν ἀμηχάνῳ τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φόνος τε ἦν ἑκατέρων ποικίλος· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους πεδίου τε καὶ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἠγνόουν, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐπύθοντο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἐπανῄεσαν, ἀχθοφόροις ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις· καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ᾐσθάνοντο οὐδὲ καθεώρων, ἐπεὶ ῥίψαντές γε, ὅσα ἔφερον, οἱ ἕτεροι μέγα ἂν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἀσυντάκτως ὧδε ἀχθοφορούντων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους σὺν τοῖς παρασπίζουσι θεράπουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διπλασίονα.

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CAP. XV 113. Κάσσιος δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῶν διατειχισμάτων ἐξέωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφεώρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν

conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall. CHAP. XIV

He captures and plunders his camp

112. As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already being beaten, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000, and on the side of Octavian double that number.

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Cassius commits suicide

113. When Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had even a camp to go to, he hurried up the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. As he could not see accurately on

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κονιορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὁρῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ προσπεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθεῖραι. διαμέλλοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ Πινδάρου προσέθει τις ἀγγέλλων Βροῦτον ἐπὶ θάτερα νικᾶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο· "νικῴης, λέγε αὐτῷ, παντελῆ νίκην," ἐς δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐπιστραφείς, "τί βραδύνεις;" ἔφη, "τί τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης με οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεις;" Πίνδαρος μὲν δὴ δεσπότην, ὑπέχοντα τὴν σφαγήν, διεχρήσατο. καί τισιν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖ Κάσσιον. ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν οἴονται, προσιόντων ἐς εὐαγγέλιον ἱππέων Βρούτου, νομίσαντα εἶναι πολεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον· τὸν δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς Κασσίου φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἀλαλαξάντων μέγα, τὸν Κάσσιον ἡγούμενον ἐς ἐχθροὺς ἐμπεσεῖν Τιτίνιον τοῦτο φάναι· "περιεμένομεν φίλον ἁρπαζόμενον ἰδεῖν," καὶ ἔς τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Πινδάρου καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον οὐκέτι φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσί τινες οὔπω κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι.

Κασσίῳ μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ Κασσίου γενέθλιον ἡμέραν, ᾗδε τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι συμπεσούσης, καὶ Τιτίνιος ὡς βραδύνας ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε· 114. Βροῦτος δὲ Κασσίου τὸν νέκυν περικλαίων, ἀνεκάλει τελευταῖον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὔ τινος ἔτι τοιοῦδε ἐς ἀρετὴν ἐσομένου, ταχυεργίας τε αὐτῷ καὶ προπετείας ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμακάριζεν ὁμοῦ φροντίδων καὶ ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένον, αἳ Βροῦτον ἐς ποῖον ἄρα τέλος ὁδηγοῦσι; παραδοὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς

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account of the dust, nor could he see everything, but only that his own camp was captured, he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to fall upon him and kill him. While Pindarus still delayed a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other wing, and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely answered, "Tell him that I pray his victory may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing the good news from Brutus, he took them for enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason some persons think that he killed Cassius without orders.

Thus Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on which, as it happened, the battle was fought, and Titinius killed himself because he had been too late; 114. and Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that his equal in virtue would never exist again. He reproached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the same time he esteemed him happy because he was freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are leading Brutus, whither, ah whither?" He delivered

Brutus weeps over his body

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φίλοις, ἔνθα λαθραίως θάψειαν, ἵνα μὴ καταδακρύσειε τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶντα, αὐτὸς ἄσιτός τε καὶ ἀτημέλητος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τὸ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον καθίστατο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στρατὸν παρατασσόντων ἐς μάχην, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἡλασσῶσθαι, συνεὶς τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος, "ὁπλισώμεθα," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνθυποκριθῶμεν ἐλάσσονα παθεῖν." ὡς δὲ παρέταξεν, οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐπιτωθάσας ἔφη τοῖς φίλοις· "οἱ μὲν δὴ προκαλούμενοι ἡμᾶς ὡς κεκμηκότας οὐδὲ ἀπεπείρασαν."

115. *Ἡι δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μάχην ἐν Φιλίπποις συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ τοιόνδε πάθος ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο μέγα. Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων ἦγεν ὁπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν, τὸ Ἄρειον, ὃ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς ἀλκῆς ὠνόμαζον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν, ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἱππέων τε ἴλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἕτερον πλῆθος ἐπειλεγμένον· καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὀλίγαι. Μοῦρκος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μακραῖς ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ ὁλκάδες ἱστίῳ μὲν αἱ πρῶται διέφυγον ὀλίγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλάσαντος ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἠλῶντο, ὑπό του θεῶν ἐκδεδομέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς ἑκάστῃ καὶ ἀνερρήγνυον· οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαί σφας τριήρεις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα κυκλούμεναι. ἔργα δ' ἦν τῶν κινδυνευόντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὅτε μὲν τὰ πλοῖα συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλω σπουδῇ καὶ κοντοῖς ἁρμο-*

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the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the army should be moved to tears at the sight; and himself passed the whole night, without food and without care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up their army in order of battle, so that they might not seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make believe that we have suffered defeat." So he put his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus said to his friends, jestingly, "They challenged us when they thought we were tired out, but they dared not put us to the test."

Naval engagement in the Adriatic

115. On the same day that witnessed the battle at Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavian, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a praetorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of horse, and a considerable picked body of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. But the wind suddenly failing, the rest drifted about in a dead calm on the sea, delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. For the latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valour. Sometimes they hastily warped their ships together with

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ζόντων ἐς ἄλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπλεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. ὅτε δὲ τούτου κρατήσειαν, ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε τοξεύματα πυρός, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συνδέσμους ἀνέλυον ὀξέως καὶ ἀπέφευγον ἀλλήλων διὰ τὸ πῦρ αὖθίς τε ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐς περίπλουν καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἕτοιμοι.

116. Ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄρειοι, ὅτι κρείττους ὄντες ἀλκὴν δι' ἀπραξίας ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνῄρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἐναλλόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον. νῆές τε ἡμίφλεκτοι μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεον, ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης δαπανωμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἱστῶν ἢ σανίδων ἐχόμενοι ἐς πέτρας ἢ ἀκτὰς ἐξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἳ καὶ περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν ἢ ἱστίων ἢ κάλων διαμασώμενοι, μέχρι σφᾶς ὁ κλύδων ἐξήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ' ἦν, ὃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡσσώμενον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἑπτακαίδεκα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ Μοῦρκον ἐς ἑαυτοὺς μεθώρκουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεὼς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ, δόξας ἀπολωλέναι.

Τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπεγίγνετο, εἴτε ναυάγιον εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι χρή· καὶ ἐξέπλησσε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθέν.

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ropes and made them fast with spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on account of the fire and thus again were exposed to being surrounded or rammed by the triremes.

The Antonian fleet destroyed

116. Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, selling their lives dearly. Vessels half burned floated a long time, containing men perishing by fire, or hunger, and thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them even lasted for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundusium on his ship five days later.

Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a naval catastrophe or a naval battle. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.

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117. Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μὴ κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἤρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος, ὃ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὂν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρας, διεφθείρατε ἅπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ εἵλετε πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὡς προύχειν τάδε παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν ὅλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἁρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἵλεσθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλέονες ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμων. καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπασαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων ὄντων τὸ ἕτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα ἔχομεν, ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὴν ἐπίκτησιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ ἕτερα προύχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μανθάνειν, περί τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἤδη σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνος ἢ Λιβύης ἢ Ἰβηρίας ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομπήιον καὶ Μοῦρκον καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον, ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλαγος· Μακεδονίαν τε ἐξαναλώκασιν ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μόνης ἄρτι Θεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἣ ἐς πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει;

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Brutus addresses his army

117. BRUTUS assembled his army and addressed it as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our left wing. But when it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished; for most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners—concerning the scarcity and dearness of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice?

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118. "Ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπειγομένους εἰς μάχην μάλιστα ἴδητε, τότε ἡγεῖσθε διωκομένους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἱρεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δ' ἀντιμηχανησώμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἡμῶν προπολεμεῖν, ἵν' ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχοιμεν, ὅτε χρή. μηδ' ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρόν, μηδὲ βραδυτῆτά τις ἡγείσθω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα, ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω θάλασσαν ἀφορῶν, ἣ τοσαύτας ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τροφὰς ἐπιπέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἣν ὑπομένητε καὶ μὴ ἀδοξῆτε, εἰ προσπαίξονταί τε ἡμῖν καὶ προκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμείνονες ὄντες, ὡς διέδειξε τὸ ἐχθὲς ἔργον, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον δέος ἰώμενοι. τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἧς νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ κρατεῖν, ἀθρόαν ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια ἐντελῆ μέν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσι τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἐχθὲς ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χιλίας ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον."

Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν καὶ αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεὰν κατὰ τέλη· δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς δώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

119. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἰδότες οὐ μαχούμενον ἑκόντα τὸν Βροῦτον, τοὺς ἰδίους συνῆγον, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεξε· "τὸ ἐχθὲς ἔργον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἶδα ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μερίζονται, ὡς διώξαντές τινας ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἅπαν ὑμέτερον· ὑπισχνοῦμαι γὰρ ὑμῖν οὔτε αὔριον οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἑκόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἥξειν.

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118. "When, therefore, you see them eager to fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage them before we do, so that when it is necessary to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted. Let us not be carried away by our ardour before the proper time. Let no one think that my generalship has become sloth rather than action, when he casts his eye on the sea behind us, which sends us all this aid and provisions and enables us to win victory without danger if you wait and do not mind the insults and provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than ourselves, as yesterday's work shows, but are trying to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I now desire you to repress be shown abundantly when I ask it. The rewards of victory I myself will pay you in full when it shall please the gods that our work be finished. And now for your bravery in yesterday's engagement, I will give to each soldier 1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion."

After speaking thus he distributed the donative to the legions in their order. Some writers say that he promised to give them also the cities of Lacedaemon and Thessalonica to plunder.

Speech of Antony to his soldiers

119. Meanwhile Octavian and Antony, seeing that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their men, and Antony addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a share of yesterday's victory because they drove some of us and plundered our camp, but they will show by their action that it was wholly yours. For I promise you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest

CAP. XVI ὃ σαφεστάτη πίστις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐχθὲς ἥσσης καὶ φόβου, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀφιστῶνται τοῦ ἀγῶνος οἱ ἐλάττονες· οὐ γὰρ ἐς τοῦτό γε στρατὸν ἤγειρον τοσόνδε, ἵνα τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἐρημίαν οἰκῶσι διατειχίσαντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτὴν διετείχισαν μὲν ἔτι προσιόντων ὑμῶν διὰ δέος, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἐνοικοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἐχθὲς ἧσσαν· ἐφ᾽ ᾗ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερός τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερος πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μεγίστη συμφορῶν ἐστιν ἀπόδειξις. ὅταν οὖν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς προκαλουμένων μὴ δέχωνται μηδὲ καταβαίνωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν χειρῶν πιστεύωσι τοῖς κρημνοῖς, τότε μοι θαρροῦντες ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, συναναγκάσατε αὐτοὺς αὖθις, ὥσπερ ἐχθὲς ἠναγκάσατε, αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενοι δεδιότων ἐλασσοῦσθαι καὶ ὀκνούντων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τειχῶν ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀσθενέστεροι γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἤλθομέν γε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πεδίῳ βιώσοντες, οὐδ᾽ ἔστι βραδύνουσιν οὐδὲν αὔταρκες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ὀξεῖς, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ μήκιστον εἶναι.

120. "Τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα ἐπιμηχανησόμεθα ἡμεῖς, οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐχθὲς ὁρμῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενόμενοι· τὴν δ᾽ ἀρετὴν ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτῆσθε, ἀποδίδοτε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μηδὲ ἄχθεσθε τῆς ἐχθὲς ἁρπαγῆς μηδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔχομέν ἐστι τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὃ καὶ τὰ ἐχθὲς ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι ὄντα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σῶα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις

proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of CHAP. XVI courage, that like those who have been vanquished in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely they did not collect so numerous an army in order to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts of Thrace. But they built their fortifications when you were still approaching because they were afraid; and now that you have come they adhere to them because of yesterday's defeat, for which also the older and more experienced of their generals in utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore, they do not accept our challenge and come down from the mountain, but trust to their precipices instead of their arms, be valiant, O my soldiers of Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be men weaker than walls. We did not come hither to pass our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be in want of everything. If we are well advised we shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace may be of the longest duration possible.

120. "We, who have not incurred your censure for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will devise fresh opportunities and means for this end. Do you, on the other hand, when you are asked, repay your generals with your valour. Nor must you be troubled, for a moment, by yesterday's plundering of our camp, for wealth consists not in the property we hold, but in conquering with might, which will restore to us as victors not only what we lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's

κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει. καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγώμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ ἐχθὲς ἀντειλήφαμεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἴσως ἱκανώτερα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιάσαντο καὶ ἥρπασαν, ἐπήγοντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὡς ἐκ πατρίδος ἰόντες τὰ μὲν δαψιλέστερα οἴκοι ὑπελίπεσθε, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μόνα ἐπήγεσθε. εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαψιλὲς ἦν, ἡμέτερον ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἳ πάντα ἐσμὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης δ' ὅμως ζημίας ὑμῖν ἕνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ πεντακισχιλίας, λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ."

121. Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἐξέτασσε· καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ ἐξέτασσεν αἰεί, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγμένον, μὴ ἀναγκασθείη μάχεσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων διελάμβανε. λόφος δὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσχερὴς μὲν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυναμένων· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ὅμως ἐφρούρει, μὴ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολμήσειέ τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρούτου κατέλαβον οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς τέτρασι τέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ διφθέρας ἐς προβολὴν τοῖς τοξεύμασιν. ὡς δὲ κατέσχον, ἄλλα τέλη δέκα μετεστρατοπέδευον ὑπὲρ πέντε σταδίους ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ

possession, but the enemy's wealth in addition. And if we are in haste to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while you, coming from your own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. However, as compensation even for this loss we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune."

He offers battle to the enemy

121. Having spoken thus, he marshalled his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down even then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight; and with another part he guarded the road by which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy, because by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest any one should make bold to attack it. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavian occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther

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ἄλλους τέσσαρας δύο, ὡς τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ προελευσόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ ἢ παρ᾽ αὐτὴν ἄρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἑλῶν ἢ ὅν τινα τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπενόουν, βιασόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποκλείσοντες τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηχανᾶτο, ἄλλα τε καὶ φρούρια ἀντικαθιστὰς τοῖς ἐκείνων στρατοπέδοις.

122. Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἤπειγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἤδη σαφής, ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ δέος ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκοῦντα ἐκομίζετο, οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπὶς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων· τῆς τε ἔναγχος περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελμένης ἐς ἑκατέρους ἤδη, μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτά τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα ὡς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλώδει σταθμεύοντες. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὁπλιτῶν ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐντυγχάνοντα πάντα καὶ πέμπειν σφίσι κατὰ σπουδήν. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ κινδύνου τοσοῦδε προσιόντος οὔτε τῶν ἄλλωι ἐπιτεχνήσεων οὔτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπὸν ἐκτάσσειν, παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισκώπτοντες ἅμα καὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ πολιορκίας τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ μανιώδει φορᾷ μὴ βουλομένῳ συμπλέκεσθαι.

123. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἔγνωστο τὰ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι πυνθανομένῳ περί τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὁρῶντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν· καὶ ᾑρεῖτο πολιορκίας καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπειγομένοις ὑπὸ

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they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

Scarcity in the camp of the Triumvirs

122. The task of Octavian and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and in view of the magnitude [of the coming famine] the fear of it grew upon them more and more each day, for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies, it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad assault to force him to an engagement.

Brutus declines to fight

123. But Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else rather than come to an engagement with men desperate

CAP. XVI λιμοῦ, καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν μόναις ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐδυσφόρουν γυναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες δὲ καὶ θᾶσσον ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ προθύμου στρατοῦ. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βροῦτον ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοιον Κασσίῳ, αὐστηρῷ καὶ ἀρχικῷ περὶ πάντα γεγενημένῳ· ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὑπήκουον, οὐ παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς αἰτίας μανθάνοντες οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ μάθοιεν, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συστρατηγεῖν ἠξίουν διὰ πραΰτητα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ φανερώτερον ἤδη κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ συστάσεις διαπυνθανομένου· "τί κατέγνωκεν ἡμῶν ὁ στρατηγός; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολεμίους κατακανόντες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἑλόντες;" Βροῦτος ἑκὼν ἠμέλει καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνῆγε, μὴ ἀπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀλογίστως ἐκβιασθείη, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οἷς ἐστιν αἰεί, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐχερέσιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἑτέρους δεσπότας, ἐλπὶς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἡ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μεταβολή.

124. Ἐνοχλούντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ κελευόντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρα-

for hunger, and whose hopes rested solely on fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers also, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all—not like Cassius, who had been austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began more and more openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately—we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy. CHAP. XVI

His soldiers become restive

124. His officers also kept irritating him and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army

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τοῦ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου, ἢν δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανιέναι πάλιν ἐς τὰ τείχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βροῦτος τοῖσδε μάλιστα ἡγεμόσιν οὖσι καὶ περιαλγήσας, ὅτι τὸν αὐτόν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ στρατῷ κουφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ ὀξεῖαν τύχην προτιθέντι νίκης ἀκινδύνου, εἶξεν ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρῳ, τοσόνδε ἐπιμεμψάμενος αὐτοῖς· "ἐοίκαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενοι." καί μοι δοκεῖ τόδε μόνον ἐξειπεῖν, ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἐδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς οἷα τοῦ πάλαι Καίσαρος γεγονὼς ἀγανακτήσειέ τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο· ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτός τε καὶ Κάσσιος ὑφορώμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρόφασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

125. Ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐξῆγεν ἄκων καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμει πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ προύχειν τοὺ λόφου, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἥ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἰ δεήσειεν, εὐχερὴς εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξια. ἦν δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσίς τε πάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀναγκαῖον, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέους λιμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς δικαίας, βιασαμένοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν ὧν ὑπέσχοντο ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις ὧν ἐθρασύνοντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνοις μᾶλλον ἢ

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His officers urge him to fight

now, which would speedily bring glorious results. If the battle should turn out adversely, they could fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem likely to carry on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding now as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Caesar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had suspected from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

He yields to them unwillingly

125. So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and exaggerated confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a proper shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favoured delay, and fear lest they should come short of their promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good

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ἀξιεπαίνοις εὐβουλίας. ἃ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ἵππου περιθέων, σοβαρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ προενέφαινε καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ὑπεμίμνησκεν, ὅσων ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου· "ὑμεῖς ἠθελήσατε μάχεσθαι, ὑμεῖς με ἑτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε· μὴ δὲ ψεύσησθε τῆς ἐλπίδος μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε αὑτούς. ἔχετε καὶ λόφον σύμμαχον καὶ τὰ κατὰ νώτου πάντα ἴδια. οἱ πολέμιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ· μεταξὺ γάρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν τε καὶ λιμοῦ."

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγων διετρόχαζε, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τάξεις ἐπήλπιζον καὶ μετὰ βοῆς παρέπεμπον εὐφήμου· 126. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰδίους περιθέοντες τήν τε δεξιὰν ὤρεγον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιντο, καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἔτι οἵδε ἐπέσπερχον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐς εὐτολμίαν προφέρειν. "εὕρομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πολεμίους· ἔχομεν οὓς ἐζητοῦμεν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν. μὴ δή τις ὑμῶν τὴν ἰδίαν πρόκλησιν καταισχύνῃ μηδὲ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐλάττων γένηται· μηδὲ λιμόν, ὄλεθρον ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἐπώδυνον, ἕληται μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίων τείχη καὶ σώματα, ἃ καὶ τόλμαις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ. ἔχει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπείξεως ὧδε τὰ παρόντα, ὡς μηδὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σήμερον περὶ ἁπάντων διακριθῆναι μέχρι νίκης ἐντελοῦς ἢ εὐγενοῦς θανάτου. νικῶσι δ' ἔστι λαβεῖν διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια παρ' ἡμῶν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα, ἢν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοῖς μνημονεύωμεν

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counsel, and because Brutus also, riding through the ranks on horseback, showed himself before them with a solemn countenance and reminded them of these things in such words as the opportunity offered. "You have chosen to fight," he said; "you have forced me to battle when I could conquer otherwise. Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy's position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine."

Octavian and Antony encourage their forces

With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence. 126. Octavian and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, urging them even more solemnly to do their duty and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be an opportune incitement to bravery. "Soldiers," they said, "we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy, which yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honourable death. If you conquer you gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessities urging us on

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τῶν ἐπειγόντων, εἶτα παραρρήξαντες εὐθὺς ἀποκλείωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἢ τὰ πεδία περιωθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος αὖθις ἀναφύοιτο μηδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀργίαν πάλιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διαδιδράσκοιεν, οἳ δι' ἀσθένειαν, μόνοι δὴ πολεμίων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ μάχεσθαι."

127. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρώτρυνον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιντο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν αἰδὼς ἀξίοις τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθεῖσαν ἐκ παραλόγου διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ γενόμενα. ᾑροῦντό τε ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ δέοι, τὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμηχάνου κακοῦ δαπανώμενοι.

Ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἑκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων ηὔξετο μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεπίμπλαντο τόλμης ἀκαταπλήκτου· οὐδέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὅτι ἦσαν πολῖται οὐδὲ ἐπεμέμνηντο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ φύσεως καὶ γένους ἐχθροῖς ἐπηπείλουν. οὕτως ἡ παραυτίκα ὀργὴ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμαντεύοντο δὲ ὁμαλῶς ἑκάτεροι τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα κρινεῖν. καὶ ἐκρίθη.

128. Ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν· καὶ ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βροῦτον βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὀξεῖα ἠγέρθη καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε καὶ ἀπηνής. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ

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and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get away for another period of idleness—the only warriors, surely, who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight."

127. In this way Octavian and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe.

Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his neighbour, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and so indeed it did.

Prodigies before the battle

Second battle of Philippi

128. The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour, when two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need

CAP. XVI λίθων ἢ ἀκοντισμάτων ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε πολέμου νόμῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ νίκης καὶ παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένου. φόνος δὲ ἦν καὶ στόνος πολύς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτοῖς ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες καὶ ὁρώμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὁρμαῖς ἀνέφερον καὶ παρεκάλουν πονοῦντας ἔτι προσπονῆσαι καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ἐνήλλασσον, ὥστε ὁ θυμὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καινὸς ἦν.

Τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε διὰ δέος τοῦ λιμοῦ, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εὐτυχίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπίμεμπτοί γε ἦσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτειοι), τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὥσπερ τι μηχάνημα τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δ' ἀνεωθοῦντο μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω βάδην ἔτι καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος· ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἤδη παρελέλυτο, ὀξύτερον ὑπεχώρουν καί, τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχωρούντων, μισγόμενοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀκόσμως ἐθλίβοντο ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἕως ἔφευγον ἤδη σαφῶς. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μάλιστα τοῦ παρηγγελμένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι τὰς πύλας προελάμβανον σφόδρα ἐπικινδύνως (ἄνωθέν τε γὰρ ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου), μέχρι πολλοὺς ἐσδραμεῖν ἐκώλυσαν, οἳ διέφυγον ἐπί τε τὴν

of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory: on the other for victory and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the reserves. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardour, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front. CHAP. XVI

Finally, the soldiers of Octavian, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavian himself (for certainly the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were turning round a very heavy machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks broke and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavian, then especially mindful of the order they had received, seized the gates of the enemy's fortification at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining

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θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ζυγάκτου.

129. *Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον οἱ στρατηγοὶ διῃροῦντο, Καῖσαρ μὲν αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυλάσσειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα ἦν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι συνεστῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις αὐτῶν, ὁρμῇ τε ὑπερηφάνῳ πάντα ἐβιάζετο ὁμοῦ. καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δείσας, μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόντες αὖθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδούς τε καὶ ἐκβολὰς τῆς μάχης, αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας· οἳ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὄρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ Θρᾳκίῳ Ῥάσκῳ, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ὁδῶν συναπεσταλμένῳ, καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκυνηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρούρουν. οἱ δὲ Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχέτως ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Λουκίλιος ἰδὼν ὑπέστη καὶ ὡς Βροῦτος ὢν ἠξίου πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναχθῆναι· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα εἶναι Βροῦτος ἐνομίσθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπήντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει, τὴν τύχην ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅπως Βροῦτον ὑποδέξαιτο. πλησιάσαντι δ' ὁ Λουκίλιος ἐντυχὼν μάλα θρασέως εἶπε· "Βροῦτος μὲν οὐχ ἑάλωκεν, οὐδὲ ἁλώσεταί ποτε πρὸς κακίας ἀρετή· ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε ἀπατήσας ὧδέ σοι πάρειμι." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἱππέας ἰδὼν αἰδουμένους*

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entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some through the river Zygactes to the mountains.

The republican army routed

129. The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavian to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everything, and attacked everywhere, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all alike with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pursued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on furiously surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavian; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness. "You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by baseness. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horsemen were ashamed

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παρηγόρει καί, "οὐ μείονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ ἀμείνονα ἧς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, ὅσῳ κρείττων ἐχθροῦ φίλος." καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε μέν τινι τῶν φίλων ἔδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐχρῆτο ὡς πιστῷ.

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130. Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ἱκανῷ πλήθει, ὡς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποστρέψων ἢ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέρευεν ἔνοπλος μετὰ πάντων. καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν·

"Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν,"

ἐνσημαινόμενον ἄρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὃ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιόν φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπηρέτης γένοιτο Ὀκταουίου. τότε γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔνοπλος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτηρίων ἀντιδιενυκτέρευε τῷ Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περιθέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ λαφύρων συμφορηθέντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μέσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσον, Νωρβανῷ φυλάσσειν παραδοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

131. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁρῶν τὰς ἐφεδρείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη τέσσαρα τέλη συναναβάντα οἱ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐφυλάξατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν

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of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game you have caught for me is not worse, but better than you think—as much better as a friend is than an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the care of one of his friends, and later took him into his own service and employed him in a confidential capacity.

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Brutus escapes to the mountains

130. Brutus fled to the mountains with a considerable force, intending to return to his camp by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the night under arms with all his party, and it is said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed:—

"Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills,"[1]

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of his own dangers, regretting that when he might have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he had become the tool of Octavian. At the present time, however, Antony passed the night under arms with his outposts over against Brutus, fortifying himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till midnight and then retired on account of his illness, leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp.

His officers decline to fight again

131. On the following day Brutus, seeing the enemy still lying in wait for him, and having fewer than four full legions, which had ascended the mountain with him, thought it best not to

[1] Eur. *Medea* 332.

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αἰδουμένους τε τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ μετανοοῦντας, ἔπεμπεν ἀποπειράσοντας αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐθελήσουσιν ὤσασθαι διὰ τῶν ἐφεδρειῶν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἴδια, ἔτι φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπολελειμμένων. οἱ δὲ ἀβουλότατα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ὁρμήσαντες, εὐψυχότατοι δὲ τὸ μέχρι πλείστου γενόμενοι, τότε, βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ στρατηγῷ σφῶν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀναξίως βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὑτοῦ· αὐτοὶ γάρ, τῆς τύχης πολλάκις πεπειραμένοι, οὐκ ἀνατρέψειν τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν διαλλαγῶν ἐλπίδα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐς τοὺς φίλους εἰπών· "οὐδὲν οὖν ἔτι εἰμὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος, ὧδε καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων," ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν Ἠπειρώτην, ὄντα φίλον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ σώματι. τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλεύεσθαι παραινοῦντος ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων, "οὐκ ἀπορήσεις," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βροῦτε, φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκετῶν ἐς τὰ ὕστατα προστάγματα, εἰ ἤδη κέκριται." καὶ εἰπὼν ἐνήρεισε ταῖς λαγόσι τοῦ Βρούτου τὸ ξίφος οὔτε ἀποστραφέντος οὔτε ἐνδόντος.

132. Ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος καὶ Βροῦτος ἐθνῃσκέτην, ἄνδρε Ῥωμαίων εὐγενεστάτω τε καὶ περιφανεστάτω καὶ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀδηρίτω, χωρὶς ἄγους ἑνός, ὥ γε καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου Πομπηίου μοίρας, ἐκ μὲν ἐχθροῖν καὶ πολεμίοιν ἐποιήσατο φίλω, ἐκ δὲ φίλοιν ἦγεν ὡς υἱώ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ περιποθήτω τε εἶχεν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτυχήσαντε ἐλεεινὼ δυοῖν τε τούτοιν ἕνεκα

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address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, for some divine infatuation was already upon them, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, "I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men," and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato still urged him to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, "Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached." With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.

Brutus commits suicide

Characters of Brutus and Cassius

132. So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, but for one crime; for although they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Caesar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all times had a peculiar attachment to them, and commiseration for them when they fell into mis-

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133. Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ ὅλοιν ἐτοῖν στρατιάν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ὁπλιτῶν τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἄπειρα καὶ παρ' ἑκόντων καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων, πολέμους τε ἐπολέμησαν ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατώρθουν. ἐθνῶν τε ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐφράτου· καὶ ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισαν καὶ βεβαιοτάτοις ἐχρήσαντο. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις, καὶ Παρθυαίοις καίπερ οὖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μεῖζον

fortune. On account of those two it granted amnesty to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregardful of Gaius Caesar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination—so much were those two held in honour by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were more honoured than [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not irreconcilable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable. CHAP XV.

133. When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans;

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ἔργον οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον ἢ ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθίσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὁ στρατὸς ὁ πλείων ὅδε Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ δαιμονίως αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς ἐκεῖνον μετέπεισαν οἱ σφαγεῖς οἵδε τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἕσποντο αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Καίσαρος συναγωνιστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτῶν Βροῦτον ἢ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἡσσωμένους ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ πρὸ πείρας ἀπολιπόντες· ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς μέν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεί. σφῶν τε αὐτῶν, ὅτε μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἔτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ πατρίδι, ἄμφω κατεφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πόνοις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτί, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα· ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ὅπῃ γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.

134. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντίθετον ἐς ἅπαντα ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἐς Καίσαρα. ὅ γε οὐδὲ ἁπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐς φίλον ἐγίγνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργέτην ἐκ πολέμου περισώσαντα ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτοκράτορα ἀθεμίστως καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἱερέα καὶ ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δυνάστην

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but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Caesar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Caesar and followed them more faithfully against Caesar's son than they had followed Antony, who was Caesar's companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were vanquished while some of them had abandoned Antony at Brundusium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforetime and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy; a specious name indeed, but always hurtful. Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labours Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything, having been a philosopher of no mean note.

Their crime against Caesar

134. Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Caesar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without equal, who was

CAP. XVII μὲν οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον. ἃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἄρα ἐνεμέσησε καὶ προεσήμηνε πολλάκις. Κασσίῳ τε γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος ἀνεστραμμένον τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε· καὶ Νίκη, χρύσεον ἀνάθημα Κασσίου, κατέπεσεν, ὄρνεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἠφίει, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐπεκάθηντο συνεχεῖς ἑσμοί. Βροῦτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζοντά φασι παρὰ τὸν πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερῆ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλόγως τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἀναβοῆσαι·

"ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός."

μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραινομένου τοῦ φωτὸς ὄψιν ἰδεῖν ἐφεστῶσάν οἱ παράλογον καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅς τις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἴη, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν· "ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις." καὶ ὀφθῆναί φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης.

Ἐξιόντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίοψ ὑπήντησε· καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαῦλον ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἄρα καὶ τάδε, Κάσσιον μὲν ἐν ἀμφηρίστῳ νίκῃ πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογνῶναι, Βροῦτον δὲ εὐβούλου βραδυτῆτος ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσι διωκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δαψιλῶς

most serviceable above all other men to Rome and to its empire. For these reasons Heaven was incensed against them and often forewarned them of their doom. When Cassius was performing a lustration for his army his lictor placed his garland upon him wrong side up; a Victory, a gilded offering of Cassius, fell down. Many birds hovered over his camp, but uttered no sound, and swarms of bees continually settled upon it. While Brutus was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready man with such quotations, he shouted out this verse without any apparent cause:— CHAP. XVII

Cruel fate
Hath slain me, aided by Latona's son."[1]

The spectre in Brutus' tent

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi." And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle.

When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due, too, to something more than human, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had

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[1] *Il.* xvi. 849.

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αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἀγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τόδε παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγώνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἄμφω δ' αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθένται καθάπερ ἐγένοντο τοῦ Καίσαρος. Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βροῦτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

135. Καὶ Βροῦτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέβαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστῃ φοινικίδι εὐθὺς καὶ καύσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι Βροῦτον, πρέσβεις ἐς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπον καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν διῃρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. παρέδοσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ ὄντα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδόθη τοῖς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στρατοῖς διαρπάσαι. τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐμαχέσαντο μέχρι θανάτου· ὧν ἦν Λεύκιός τε Κάσσιος, ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος, ἐμπίπτων ὅδε τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἶθ' ὑποχωρούντων ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἵνα ἢ γνώριμος ἢ εὔβλητος ἢ ἀμφότερα εἴη. Λαβεὼν δέ, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ γνώριμος, ὁ πατὴρ Λαβεῶνος τοῦ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἔτι νῦν περιωνύμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυξάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισί, περὶ ὧν ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέρειν ἔδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις· τοῦ δὲ πιστο-

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supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Caesar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus.

135. Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in the best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavian and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in the forts surrendered. The forts themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavian and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of the great Cassius, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave

Death of young Cato

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τάτου τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας αὐτόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπιστρεφομένῳ ξίφος ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε. Καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος ἐγένετο, 136. Ῥάσκος δὲ ὁ Θρᾷξ ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν πολλούς, καὶ γέρας ᾔτησέ τε καὶ ἔλαβε σῴζεσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ῥασκούπολιν· ᾧ καὶ διεδείχθη, ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις οἵδε οἱ Θρᾷκες διεφέροντο, ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε καὶ ἀμφηρίστων περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν συμφερομένων τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ νικῶν περισῴζοι τὸν ἡσσώμενον. Πορκία δ᾽, ἡ Βρούτου μὲν γυνή, Κάτωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ νεωτέρου, ἐπείτε ἀμφοῖν ὧδε ἀποθανόντοιν ἐπύθετο, φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάνυ ἐγκρατῶς, ἐσχάρας πυρὸς ἐνεχθείσης ἁρπάσασα τῶν ἀνθράκων κατέπιεν. ὅσοι δ᾽ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐς Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ τῶν ὁμοτίμων Μεσσάλᾳ τε Κορουίνῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὅ τι βουλεύσοιντο περὶ σφῶν, ποιεῖν περὶ ἁπάντων. οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύσαντι ἐς τὴν Θάσον παρέδοσαν, ὅσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ χρήματά τε καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τροφαὶ δαψιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πολλή.

137. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τόλμης ἐπισφαλοῦς καὶ δυοῖν πεζομαχίαιν τηλικοῦτον ἔργον ἤνυστο, οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐγένετο πρὸ ἐκείνου. οὔτε γὰρ στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐς χεῖρας πρότερον ἦλθε Ῥωμαίων ἑκατέρωθεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ συντάξει πολιτικῇ στρατευσαμένων,

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by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the Roman custom in granting freedom, he handed him a sword as he turned, and presented his throat. And so his tent became his tomb.

136. Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascupolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they divided the chances of fortune in such a way that the victor might save the vanquished. Porcia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some hot embers that they were carrying on a brazier, and swallowed them. Of the other members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavian, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store.

Death of Porcia

Magnitude of the victory

137. Thus did Octavian and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary

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ἀλλὰ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ' ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπί τε σφᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλα ἢ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσσης μιᾶς ὄντες καὶ τέχνης πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας, δυσκαταγώνιστοι παρ' αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις. οὐδὲ ὁρμῇ καὶ τόλμῃ τοσῇδέ τινες ἐχρήσαντο ἐν πολέμῳ, πολῖταί τε ὄντες ἀλλήλων καὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ συστρατιῶται γενόμενοι. τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἀριθμός, ἐπανισουμένης ἑκατέρας μάχης, οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς νικῶσιν εἶναι.

138. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος τὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ καὶ δέος ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῆ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ νίκην εὐκλεῆ μεταβαλόντες. ἀπήντησέ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὃ συνιόντες ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπεμαντεύσαντο Ῥωμαίοις· ἐκρίθη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα καὶ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέησεν ὁμοίων, χωρίς γε τῆς μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος στάσεως, ὑστάτης Ῥωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ Βροῦτον ὑπό τε Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου φίλων, λείψανα τοσῆσδε παρασκευῆς μεγάλα ἐχόντων, οὔτε ταῖς τόλμαις ὅμοια ἔτι ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ πόλεων ἢ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁρμαῖς· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτι οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα αὕτη, ὡς ἐς Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, ἀπήντα.

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conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons what we may call mutually invincible. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof or this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain even among the victors appeared to be not fewer than among the vanquished.

Its lasting results

138. Thus the army of Antony and Octavian confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one blow from extreme danger and famine and fear of destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. Moreover, that result came about which Antony and Octavian had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavian not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that happened after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius.

BOOK V

Ε΄

I

CAP. I

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ᾔει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλὶς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσα ἐκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἔρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις. ὅθεν ἄν τι καὶ Αἰγύπτιον εἴη τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου μέρος, ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιγραφῆς πω, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολὺ πλείοσιν οὖσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίγνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον ἕτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια, στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἑτέρων, μέχρι Πομπήιός τε Σέξστος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, λοιπὸς ὢν ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπανῃρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιῆλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα. ἐγίνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα οὕτως.

2. Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπίκλην ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν και στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασσίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὅμοιον ἐν

BOOK V

I

CHAP. I

The scattered Republican forces

1. After the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavian returned to Italy, but Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This passion brought ruin upon them and upon all Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this book will treat of Egypt—a small part, however, not worth mentioning in the title, since it is incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The latter wars were sporadic, till finally Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavian. These events came about in the following manner.

How they were reassembled

2. Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, had been left by Cassius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and an army to collect money. After the death of Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus,

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Βρούτῳ, Ῥοδίων ἐπελέξατο νῆας τριάκοντα, ὅσας ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διέπρησε χωρὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύναιντο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο ταῖς τε ἰδίαις καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ νεῶν τρισκαίδεκα, τοὺς Ῥοδίους νεωτερίζοντας εὑρὼν (ἐτεθνήκει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος), ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὖσαν ὁπλιτῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρμήσιον ἐχώρει. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλιος, ἑτέρας ναῦς ἔχων πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὅσα προεξείλεκτο ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥόδου. ἐς δὴ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἤδη τινὰ ἰσχὺν συνέθεον, ὅσοι ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὁπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἢ δεσμωτῶν, ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν. ἦλθον δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς Θάσου διεπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ σύνταξις ἀξιόχρεως ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ νεῶν. προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ' ἑτέρας δυνάμεως, ᾗ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς Μοῦρκον καὶ Δομίτιον Ἀηνόβαρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῷ Μούρκῳ διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν Πομπηίῳ Σέξστῳ συνῆψαν, οἱ δὲ κατέμειναν παρὰ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καί τιν' αἵρεσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καθίσταντο.

Τοιάδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρῶτα συνίστατο, 3. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ

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he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had another numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes. To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus,[1] with which he had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by themselves.

Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus. 3. After the victory of Philippi Octavian and Antony

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[1] Brother of the triumvir.

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Φιλίππους ἔθυόν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπῄνουν. καὶ ἐς τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπινικίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρει, τήν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμήσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέξων (ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἵλετο διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν), ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθνη, συλλέξων τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηντο. διενείμαντο δὲ αὖθις ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθνη καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Λεπίδου· τήν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων ἐδόκει Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦντος αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι γνώμῃ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ὅ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι· καὶ ὥριστο, εἰ Καίσαρι ψευδὴς ἡ διαβολὴ φανείη, ἕτερα ἀντιδοῦναι τῷ Λεπίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοὺς ἐντελῆ χρόνον ἐστρατευμένους χωρὶς ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς δεηθέντας ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι σφίσιν ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο καὶ συνελόχισαν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς αὐτοῖς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἕνδεκα καὶ ἱππέες μύριοις καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἓξ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἱππέας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τέλη πέντε· καὶ τῶνδε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίῳ δύο ἔδωκεν, ἀντιληψόμενος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληνῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπολελειμμένων.

4. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ᾔει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυε καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἱκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πετρωνίου, συνεγνωκότος

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Octavian and Antony after the battle

offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army. In order to provide the rewards of victory Octavian went to Italy to divide the land among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He chose this himself on account of his illness. Antony went to the nations beyond the Aegean to collect the money that had been promised to the soldiers. They divided the provinces among themselves as before and took those of Lepidus besides. For it was decided, at the instance of Octavian to make Cisalpine Gaul independent, as the elder Caesar had intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius and it was decided that if Octavian should find that this accusation was false other provinces should be given to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in praetorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavian had five legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus.

Antony in Asia

4. Octavian then proceeded toward the Adriatic; but when Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of

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ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ Κοΐντου, προδόντος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Κασσίῳ Δολοβέλλαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατά τε πρεσβείας παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, Ἄτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἦμεν Ἀττάλου· οὓς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἑκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κοινωνῶμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς μισθουμένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑμῖν καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αἰτούντων, Γάιος Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ τρίτα ὑμῖν ἀνῆκεν ὧν ἐκείνοις ἐφέρετε, τὰς δ' ὕβρεις ἔπαυσεν· ὑμῖν γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. καὶ τόνδε τοιόνδε ὄντα οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν τύραννον ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς συνετελεῖτε χρήματα πολλά, σφαγεῦσί τε οὖσι τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν τιμωρούντων ἐκείνῳ.

5. "Τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης οὐχ, ὡς ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ', ὡς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσης τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν ὡς συναγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἔδει χρῆσθαι, κολάσεως ὑμῖν ἔδει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκόντες πιστεύομεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τάδε πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων ἀφίεμεν, χρημάτων δὲ ἡμῖν δεῖ καὶ γῆς

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Caesar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace embassy, and others who had been summoned thither, Antony addressed them as follows: "Your King Attalus, O Greeks, left you to us in his will, and straightway we proved better to you than Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes that you had been paying to him, until the action of popular agitators also among us made these taxes necessary. But when they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans, who farmed these collections by the authority of the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than was due, Gaius Caesar remitted to you one-third of what you had paid to them and put an end to their outrages: for he turned over to you the collection of the taxes from the cultivators of the soil. And this was the kind of man that our honourable citizens called a tyrant, and you contributed vast sums of money to the murderers of your benefactor and against us, who were seeking to avenge him.

He makes a public speech at Ephesus

5. "Now that just fortune has decided the war, not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to treat you as allies of our enemies we should be obliged to punish you. But as we are willing to believe that you were constrained to this course by necessity, we will release you from the heavier

CAP. I καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δέ ἐστιν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὁπλιτῶν, ἃ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἄνευθεν οἱ ἱππέες καὶ ἕτερος ὅμιλος ἑτέρου στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρείας συνορᾶν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς διαδώσων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄπεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον εἰπεῖν, ἀναστήσων τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὑμᾶς δ', ἵνα μὴ γῆς καὶ πόλεων καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων ἀνίστησθε, ἐς τὰ χρήματα ἐλογισάμεθα, οὐδὲ ἐς ἅπαντα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναισθε), ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύτατον, ὃ καὶ πυθομένους ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσειν οἴομαι. ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι δύο (ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν), ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνα, ἀλλ' ἑνὶ ἔτει· ἐπείγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. συνεῖσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος ὑμῖν τοσοῦτον ἂν ἐπείποιμι, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἁμαρτήματος ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον ὁρίζεται."

6. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν. ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν τὴν χάριν περιφέρων, ὅτι, οἶμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνῃ συνηλλάσσοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ τάδε ὑπισχνοῦντο, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπενηνόχει· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνάγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου γενομένας ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξίας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐλέου, δόντες δ' ἂν τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἑκόντες ἀπορεῖν διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ

penalty, but we need money and land and cities as rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries, amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry and various other arms of the service. The vast sum that we need for such a vast number of men you can easily imagine. Octavian has gone to Italy to provide them with the land and the cities—to expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we may not be under the necessity of expelling you from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs, we have assessed you for contribution not of all that you have (for you could not pay that), but a part, a very small part, which when you learn it, I think you will cheerfully pay. For what you contributed to our enemies in two years (and you gave them the taxes of ten years in that time) will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid in one year, because we are pressed by necessity. As you are sensible of our leniency toward you, I will merely add that the penalty imposed is not equal to any one of your deserts." CHAP. I

6. Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think that they had forty-three legions when they came to their agreement at Mutina and made these promises, but the war had probably reduced them to this number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking, threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that they had been subjected to force and violence by Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly give to their benefactors, but that they had been stripped by their enemies, to whom they had de-

Distress of the inhabitants

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σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα χαλκεῦσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἑκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.

7. Περιιόντι δ' *αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη* Λεύκιός *τε ὁ* Κασσίου *ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν δεδιότων ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐν* Ἐφέσῳ *συγγνώμης ἐπύθοντο, ἱκέται προσῄεσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντας, πλὴν τοὺς συνεγνωκότας ἐπὶ φόνῳ* Καίσαρος· *τούτοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν. παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθούσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφιεὶς καὶ* Ξάνθον *οἰκίζειν παραινῶν,* Ῥοδίοις *δὲ διδοὺς* Ἄνδρον *τε καὶ* Τῆνον *καὶ* Νάξον *καὶ* Μύνδον, *ἃς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀφῃρέθησαν ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ* Ταρσέας *ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων· καὶ* Ταρσέων *τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι.* Ἀθηναίοις *δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ* Τῆνον Αἴγιναν *ἔδωκε καὶ* Ἴκον *καὶ* Κέω *καὶ* Σκίαθον *καὶ* Πεπάρηθον. *ἐπιπαριὼν δὲ* Φρυγίαν *τε καὶ* Μυσίαν *καὶ* Γαλάτας *τοὺς ἐν* Ἀσίᾳ Καππαδοκίαν *τε καὶ* Κιλικίαν *καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ* Παλαιστίνην *καὶ τὴν* Ἰτουραίαν *καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἅπασιν ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας καὶ διῄτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, ἐν μὲν* Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθῃ *τε καὶ Σισίνῃ, ὧν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνου*

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livered not only their money, but, in default of money, their plate and their ornaments, and who had coined these things into money in their presence. Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, payable in two years. It was ordered that the kings, princes, and free cities should make additional contributions according to their means, respectively.

Antony makes a tour of the eastern provinces

7. While Antony was making the circuit of the provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and some others, who feared for their own safety, when they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented themselves to him as suppliants. He released them all except those who had been privy to the murder of Caesar: to these alone he was inexorable. He gave relief to the cities that had suffered most severely. He released the Lycians from taxes altogether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus; he gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus, which were taken from them not long afterward because they ruled them too harshly; he made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated by an order. To the Athenians when they came to him to ask for Tenos he gave Aegina and Icos, Ceos, Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Coele-Syria, Palestine, Ituraea, and the other provinces of Syria, he imposed heavy contributions on all, and acted as arbiter between kings and cities,—in Cappadocia, for example, between Ariarthes and Sisina, awarding the kingdom to Sisina on account of his mother, Glaphyra, who struck him as a beautiful woman. In

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Γλαφύρας· ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξῄρει τυράννους.

8. Καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι πόνων· τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἢ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἷ τέσσαρα τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα πέμψειε, καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἕτοιμον ἔχουσα κωλυθείη ὑπό τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἥσσης τυχόντος, Κασσίῳ τε δὶς ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχήσειε καὶ σφίσιν ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐτὴ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσειε μετὰ παρασκευῆς βαρυτάτης, οὔτε δείσασα Κάσσιον οὔτε φυλαξαμένη Μοῦρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμὼν τά τε ἄλλα διελυμήνατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσον ἐνέβαλεν, ἧς δὴ χάριν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἐπαναχθῆναι νενικηκότων ἤδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεὶς εὐθὺς αὐτῆς μειρακιωδῶς ἑαλώκει, καίπερ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς, λεγόμενος μὲν ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα ἀεὶ φῦναι, λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταύτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἔτι οὖσαν, ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὄψεως λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίῳ στρατεύοντι νέος ἱππαρχῶν εἵπετο.

9. Εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἡ περὶ ἅπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἠμβλύνετο, Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὅ τι προστάξειεν, ἐγίγνετο, οὐ διακριδὸν ἔτι περὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἢ δικαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἱκέτιν οὖσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνεῖλε, καὶ Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς,

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Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another.

He meets Cleopatra in Cilicia and becomes her slave

8. Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labours in avenging Caesar. Instead of apologising she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; but that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a powerful fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had fallen in love with her at first sight long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria.

The murder of Arsinoe

9. Straightway Antony's former interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus, Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death; and Serapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted

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συμμαχήσαντα Κασσίῳ, Τυρίων ὄντα ἱκέτην, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Τυρίους ἐκδοῦναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἐκδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραδίους ἕτερον ἱκέτην, ὅν τινα, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφανοῦς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίᾳ γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα Πτολεμαῖον εἶναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν Μεγάβυζον ἡγοῦνται, ὑποδεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασιλίδι ἀχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἐφεσίων δ' αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἱκετευσάντων μεθῆκεν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀποπλευσάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ὄντες ἐφόριοι ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον (ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων), ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς ἱππέας περιουσιάσαι. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευασαμένων τόξοις, πρὸς ἃ πεφύκασιν ἐξαιρέτως, οἱ ἱππέες τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν, οὔτε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

10. Καὶ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθυικὸν πόλεμον ἐξάψαι, πολλῶν ἐκ

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Cassius and was now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Aradians to deliver up another suppliant, who when Ptolemy, the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with Caesar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Arcadians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called the Megabyzus,[1] and who had once received Arsinoe as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that afterwards befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusation against its inhabitants, that being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia from Persia and dispose of them in the Roman territory; but in fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen. However, the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they are expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned round and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

Unsuccessful attack upon Palmyra

10. It seems that this course on Antony's part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from

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[1] A title.

CAP. I Συρίας τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἡ γὰρ Συρία μέχρι μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὥς μοι περὶ Σύρων λέγοντι εἴρηται· Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῇ Σκαῦρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ Σκαῦρον ἔπεμψεν ἑτέρους καὶ Γαβίνιον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ Κράσσον τὸν ἐν Παρθυαίοις ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βύβλον ἐπὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἄρα τελευτὴν καὶ στάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων εἴχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις τῶν Παρθυαίων· ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν οἱ Παρθυαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν τοῖς τυράννοις. οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξελαύνων ὑποφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς βαρυτάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνοὺς τάδε ἁμαρτών, οὐδ' ἐπέμεινε συστῆσαι τὴν χώραν θορυβουμένην, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμάσοντα αὐτὸς ἐς Αἴγυπτον ᾔει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.

11. Ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ σημείων ἡγεμονίας, ἰδιώτου σχῆμα καὶ βίον ἔχων, εἴθ' ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, εἴτε τὴν χειμασίαν ὡς πανήγυριν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέθειτο καὶ ἡγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου, καὶ ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐς

Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son, Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and Scaurus was appointed praetor over it. After Scaurus the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who made war against the Alexandrians, and after Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian war, and after Crassus, Bibulus. At the time of Caesar's death and the intestine strife which followed, tyrants had possession of the cities one by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians, who made an irruption into Syria after the disaster to Crassus and co-operated with the tyrants. Antony drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia. He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses and committed the outrage already mentioned against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra. CHAP. I

Antony goes to Egypt to join Cleopatra

11. She gave him a magnificent reception, and he spent the winter there without the insignia of his office and with the habit and mode of life of a private person, either because he was in a foreign jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because he regarded his wintering as a festal occasion; for he even laid aside the cares and escort of a general, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests, which they call the *phaecasium*. He went out only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the

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ἱερὰ ἢ γυμνάσια ἢ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μόναι καὶ δίαιτα μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ᾗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.

II

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12. Καὶ *τὰ μὲν περὶ* Ἀντώνιον *ἦν τοιάδε·* Καίσαρι *δὲ ἐς τὴν* Ῥώμην *ἐπανιόντι ἥ τε νόσος αὖθις ἤκμαζεν ἐν* Βρεντεσίῳ *μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως, καὶ φήμη διήνεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. ῥαΐσας δ' ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς* Ἀντωνίου *τὰ γράμματα ἐδείκνυε τὰ* Ἀντωνίου. *οἱ δὲ* Καληνόν *τε προσέτασσον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δύο τέλη τῷ* Καίσαρι *καὶ ἐς* Λιβύην *ἐπέστελλον* Σεξστίῳ Λιβύης *καὶ αὐτὸν* Καίσαρι *ἀποστῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐποίουν, ὁ δὲ* Καῖσαρ *οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἁμαρτεῖν δόξαντι* Λεπίδῳ Λιβύην *ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγραφαῖς δεδημευμένων διεπίπρασκε. καταλέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπινέμοντι δυσεργὲς ἦν. οἵ τε γὰρ στρατιῶται τὰς πόλεις ᾔτουν, αἳ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδην ἦσαν ἐπειλεγμέναι πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἠξίουν τὴν* Ἰταλίαν *ἅπασαν ἐπινείμασθαι τὸ ἔργον ἢ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τε γῆς τὴν τιμὴν τοὺς δωρουμένους ᾔτουν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ συνιόντες ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὴν* Ῥώμην *οἵ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες,* Ἰταλιῶται *δὲ ὄντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἑστίας οἷα δορίληπτοι. ἐφ'*

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learned, and spent his time with Greeks, out of deference to Cleopatra, to whom his sojourn in Alexandria was wholly devoted.

II

CHAP. II

Octavian returns to Rome

12. Such was the state of affairs with Antony. As Octavian was journeying to Rome his illness became acute at Brundusium, and a rumour gained currency that he was dead. On his recovery he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavian the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. This was the course of the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavian transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the remainder of the property confiscated under the conscriptions. The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. For the soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valour, and the cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it; and there was no money. They came to Rome in crowds, young and old, women and children, to the forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The

Consternation among the Italians

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οἷς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθοντο καὶ ἐπεδάκρυον, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τόν τε πόλεμον γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας συνισταμένας τοῦ μηδ' αὖθις ἀνακῦψαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρῳκισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόρων ἑτοίμων, ἐς ὅ τι χρῄζοιεν.

13. *Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξελογεῖτο τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἐδόκουν οὐδ' ὣς ἀρκέσειν. οὐδ' ἤρκουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπέβαινε σὺν ὕβρει, πλέονά τε τῶν διδομένων σφίσι περισπώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήσσοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένου πολλὰ ἄλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγκρατὲς τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία παρώδευε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡ χρεία συνῆγεν ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ὧν ἔλαβον, ἡ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχὴ παραμένουσα. ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπικρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες, ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις αὐτῶν ἐδωρεῖτο, δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ. ὅθεν τὴν γνώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων ὑπήντα χάρις ὡς γῆν ἅμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρουμένῳ καὶ καταβοωμένῳ*

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Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a change of the form of government; that the colonies were established to the end that democracy should never again lift its head,—colonies composed of hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readiness for whatever purpose they might be wanted.

Confiscation and division of the land

13. Octavian explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbours in an insolent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands; nor did they cease even when Octavian rebuked them and made them numerous other presents, since they were contemptuous of their rulers in the knowledge that they needed them to confirm their power, for the five years' term of the triumvirate was passing away, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual security. The chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance of their government, while, for the possession of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the permanence of the government of those who had given it. Believing that they could not keep a firm hold unless the givers had a strong government, they fought for them, from necessity, with good-will. Octavian made many other gifts to the indigent soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him, and the greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the

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μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων, φέροντι δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

14. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος Ἀντώνιος, ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φουλβία καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιτροπεύων τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Μάνιος, ἵνα μὴ Καίσαρος δόξειε τὸ ἔργον ἅπαν εἶναι μηδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέροιτο μηδ' ἔρημος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἐτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπείγοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν ἠξίουν Καίσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς μὲν συνθήκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καίσαρι διδούσης, ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ὡς οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τήν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μάλα ἐπιφθόνως ἱκέτευον μὴ περιιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἤκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἅπαν ἡγοῦντο Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν ἀδικούμενος ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα, εἶξε δὲ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τέλεσιν ἀπέφαινον, οἱ δὲ οἰκισταὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἵνα τι καὶ δοκοῖεν εὐνούστεροι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχώρουν ἔτι πλέον ἀδικεῖν. ἄλλο δὴ πλῆθος ἦν ἑτέρων πόλεων, αἳ

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object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled, and as one who bore this contumely for the army's sake.

Beginning of trouble with Lucius Antonius

14. Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavian, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favour of the soldiers. As this evidently could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavian should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavian exclusively; they made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present. They themselves brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in terms such as would cause ill feeling, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its height, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavian's illness. Although Octavian was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favour to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear more favourable to the soldiers than Octavian was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from another group

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ταῖς νενεμημέναις γειτονεύουσαί τε καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀδικούμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀδικωτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἀποικίσεις τῶν προγραφῶν· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι γίγνεσθαι.

15. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἠγνόει ἀδικουμένους. ἀμήχανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ· οὔτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἦν ἐς τιμὴν τῆς γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὔτε ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια διὰ τοὺς ἔτι πολέμους, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν κλείοντος ἐς λιμόν, Ἀηνοβάρβου δὲ καὶ Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἄλλας ἀγειρόντων ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὄντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινίκια λάβοιεν. πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἤδη τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρῄζειν αὖθις εὐνοίας στρατοῦ· διόπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ἢ καταφρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἑκὼν ὑπερεώρα. ἔν γέ τοι τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν οἰκείας ἕδρας παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας· καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην ἀπῄτουν, οὐχ ὁρώμενον ἡγούμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελθόντα δὲ ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου νῦν προαχθῆναι

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Outrages committed by the soldiers

of communities, neighbours of the dispossessed ones, suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers, and crying out against Octavian, saying that the colonisation was worse than the proscription, since the latter was directed against foes, while the former was against unoffending persons.[1]

Octavian powerless to prevent them.

15. Octavian knew that these citizens were suffering injustice, but he was without means to prevent it, for there was no money to pay the value of the land to the cultivators, nor could the rewards to the soldiers be postponed, on account of wars which were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and was reducing the city to famine by cutting off supplies: Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a new fleet and army: the soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former service. It was a matter of much importance that the five years' term of office was running out, and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance. Once in the theatre when he was present, a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavian had him removed. The soldiers were angry. They gathered around Octavian as he was going away from the theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they did not see him, they thought that he had been put to death. When he was produced before them they supposed that he had been brought from prison, but he denied that he had been imprisoned and related

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[1] Among the dispossessed were the poets, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius.

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ἀρνούμενόν τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύδεσθαι διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν ὡς τὰ κοινὰ προδιδόντα· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.

16. Κεκλημένοι δ' ἐπὶ νέμησιν τότε γῆς ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἄρειον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο, καὶ βραδύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος ἠγανάκτουν. Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέπλησσεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρησίᾳ, τό τε πρέπον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἄρχοντα προφέρων καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπεροψίαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὡς κόλακα, πλέονος δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενομένου ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα ἐδίωκον ἔς τε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξαλόμενον ἐξειρύσαντες ἔκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἔνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καίσαρι παρῄνουν μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν ἐς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκστῆναι μανιώδει φορᾷ· ὁ δ' ἐπῄει μέν, ἀναθρέψειν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος τὸ μανιῶδες, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἰδὼν ἐξέκλινεν, ὡς δὲ ὀλίγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀλλήλων φείδεσθαι παρῄνει και τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων ἐνίοις ἐδίδου παρὰ γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπλαγὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς

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what had taken place. They said that he had been instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of their insolence in the theatre.[1]

16. Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavian delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavian's illness, not any disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant; then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavian was about to pass along. So the friends of Octavian advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded; they repented and were ashamed of their

The murder of Nonius

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[1] Suetonius (*Aug.* 14) relates this incident in the theatre. He says that Octavian narrowly escaped with his life, and was saved only by the sudden appearance of the man safe and sound.

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βαρύτητος μετενόει καὶ ᾐδεῖτο καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸν Νώνιον ἁμαρτόντας ἠξίουν ἀνευρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδότι σφῶν μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει. οἱ δὲ συγγνώμης τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθέντες εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εὐφήμουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

17. Καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αἵδε ἔστων τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας· αἴτιον δ' ἦν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόνητοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ὡς ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρείᾳ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκῃ νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους κοινούς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους ἐχθρούς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ξένους, ἀλλὰ πολίτας καὶ ὁμοτίμους. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν φόβον ἐξέλυεν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι νομίζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκείᾳ χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡγουμένοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεῖσθαι. τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιάλλακτον ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἠξιοῦτο· καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἵ τε στρατοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἕτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραν κοινὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκέκριτο· ἥ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὡς ἁπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούντων, εὐχερεστέρους ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν

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importunity; they condemned themselves and asked him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. He replied that he knew them and would punish them only with their own guilty consciences and the condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus honoured with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed at once to joyful acclamations.

Insubordination and desertion and the causes thereof

17. Let these two instances out of many serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises; not against the common enemy, but against private foes; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favour and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a like cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that

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ὡς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντας. ἃ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἔφερον, ὡς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.

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18. Οὕτω μὲν ἐς στάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐς δυσαρχίαν τοῖς στασιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέτραπτο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιον, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοὺς στρατοὺς ἐδαπανᾶτο. ἐκλώπευόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἔτι βιαιότερον ἠνώχλουν, καὶ ἠνώχλουν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὁ δὲ λεὼς ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξανίστη, ὡς οὔτε ἀρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρῄζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ λῃστευομένῃ πόλει.

19. Λευκίῳ δὲ ὄντι δημοτικῷ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένῃ, προσκρούσματα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγίγνετο καὶ διαφοραὶ μείζους· τούς τε γεωργούς, ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἀφῃροῦντο, ἱκέτας γιγνομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἑκάστου μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο, κἀκείνων ὑπισχνουμένων ἀμυνεῖν, ἐς ὃ κελεύοι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἀντιπράσσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβία ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντα ἐν

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one could serve his country in any party. Understanding these facts the generals tolerated this behaviour, for they knew that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law.

III

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Famine in Rome

18. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the armies indulged in insubordination toward the leaders of the factions, while famine began to afflict Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius, and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. Whatever food was produced was consumed by the troops. Most of them committed robberies by night in the city. There were acts of violence worse than robbery which went unpunished, and these were supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The people closed their shops and drove the magistrates from their places as though there were no need of courts of justice, or of the useful arts, in a city oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands.

Lucius Antonius espouses the cause of the citizens

19. Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time, fell into controversy, and even graver differences, with Octavian. He alone received kindly, and promised aid to the agriculturists who had been deprived of their lands and who were now the suppliants of every man of importance; and they promised to carry out his orders. So Antony's soldiers, and Octavian also, blamed him for working against Antony's interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius

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ἀκαίρῳ, μέχρι τὴν Φουλβίαν ὁ Μάνιος πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ὡς εἰρηνευομένης μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιμενεῖν Ἀντώνιον Κλεοπάτρᾳ, πολεμουμένης δ' ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ δὴ γυναικός τι παθοῦσα ἡ Φουλβία τὸν Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν διαφοράν. ἐξιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ἔπεμπεν ἑψομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας ἅμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλέον ἔχοι. ἱππέων δὲ Καίσαρος ἐκτρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττίων ἠιόνα, πορθουμένην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἢ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τόδε τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας, συλλεγόμενος φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρας γνώμης αὐτοὺς πολεμοποιεῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσσοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὰς ἀποικίας ἔχουσι βεβαίους· καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίοις τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

20. Ὧν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυνθανόμενοι διῄτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανῷ καὶ συνήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυομένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τά τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμὰς τῶν ἔτι πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπ' ἴσης διανέ-

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maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia, moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to discord. While Octavian was leading out the last of the colonies she sent the children of Antony, together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he should not acquire too great éclat with the army by being seen alone. A body of Octavian's cavalry made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought or pretended to think that it had been sent against himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he betook himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a body-guard, and accused Octavian to the soldiers as being treacherous to Antony. Octavian replied that everything was on a friendly and harmonious footing between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was trying to stir up a war between them for another reason, in that he was working against the triumvirate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders.

An arbitration between Lucius and Octavian

20. When the officers of the army learned these facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavian at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of the fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs; that the land should be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi; that of the money derived from confiscated property, and of the value of that which was still to be sold, Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share;

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μεσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἔτι καταλέγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἀνεῷχθαι δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς ἔτι Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνηλλαγμένον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἀδεῶς. τάδε μὲν ἦν, ἃ συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπράχθη γε μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ τελευταῖα· καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε τὰς Ἄλπεις.

21. Οὐ γιγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βραδυνόντων, ἐς Πραινεστὸν ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδιέναι λέγων Καίσαρα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δορυφορούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀφρούρητος ὤν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἤδη λέγουσα περὶ τοῖς τέκνοις δεδιέναι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος προυτίθει. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ' ἑκατέρων Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οἳ διδάξειν ἔμελλον περὶ ἑκάστων. καὶ οὐχ εὗρον ἐρευνώμενος, ὅ τι σαφῶς ἀντεγράφετο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνες συνομόσαντες κρινεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὖθις, ὃ δοκοίη δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ συναναγκάσειν, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἔν τε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστοις ἐπεμέμφετο. οἱ

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that neither Antony nor Octavian should draw soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter; that two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavian in the campaign against Pompeius; that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by Octavian into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should not further interfere with them; that Lucius should be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense with his body-guard, and administer his office fearlessly. Such was the agreement which they made with each other through the influence of the officers of the army. Of these only the two last were carried into effect, Salvidienus crossing the Alps with him, but unwillingly.

21. As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Praeneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavian, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he himself was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lepidus, saying now that she had fears for her children. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavian. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision; and they summoned Lucius and his friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and Octavian reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of

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δὲ ἐξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρεκάλουν οἰκτεῖραι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῷ νόμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.

22. Αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὁ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἔφη τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ χρήματα μόνα ἀγείρειν ἐν ξένοις ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ἐπίκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς θεραπείαις προκαταλαμβάνειν· τήν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρότερον δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν μετ' ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαρσί τε καὶ τριάκοντα τέλεσιν ἀντὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν συμμαχησάντων ἐπινέμειν οὐ γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδέ πω παρατάττεται λιμωττούσης ὧδε τῆς πόλεως, διαιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς θεραπείαν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὐ πιπράσκοντα μᾶλλον ἢ δωρούμενον αὐτοῖς. χρῆναι δέ, εἰ τῷ ὄντι εἰρηνεύειν ἐθέλοι, τῶν μὲν ἤδη διῳκημένων ὑποσχεῖν λόγον, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἃ ἂν κοινῇ βουλευομένοις δοκῇ, μόνα πράσσειν. οὕτω μὲν θρασέως ὁ Μάνιος ἠξίου μήτε τὸν Καίσαρά τινος εἶναι κύριον ἔργου μήτε τὴν Ἀντωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὡρισμένου τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἑκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ τὸ

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Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to consent that by common agreement the decision should rest with themselves or with the officers.

The trouble breaks out afresh

22. Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavian was, by his favours, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy; for that defrauding Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine; that he had distributed this money in order to curry favour with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers outright; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he should give his account for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavian could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what

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πρασσόμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων εἶναι κύριον. πανταχόθεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑώρα πολεμησείοντας αὐτούς, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι.

23. Δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐς Ἀγκῶνα πόλιν ᾠκισμένα, Καίσαρί τε ὄντα πατρῷα καὶ ἐστρατευμένα Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἰδίας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν πυθόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον σφῶν οἰκειότητα αἰδούμενοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἳ ἔμελλον ἑκατέρων ἐς διαλύσεις δεήσεσθαι. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμεῖσθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ, κοινῇ πάντες ἐς Λεύκιον ἐπρέσβευον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐς δίκην Καίσαρι συνελθεῖν· δῆλοί τε ἦσαν, ὃ πράξειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέχοιτο. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον, χωρίον τε ὥριστο τῇ δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλις ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραινεστοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγίνετο καὶ βήματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἐροῦσιν ὡς ἐν δίκῃ. πρότερος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν πάροδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένους ἄρα, μή τίς ποθεν ὁρῷτο ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἱππέες οἵδε ἑτέροις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἄρα ἢ καὶ τοῖσδε κατασκόποις, συμβαλόντες ἔκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε δείσας ὁ Λεύκιος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν· καλούμενός τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψειν αὐτὸν ὑπισχνουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπείθετο.

24. Οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἄπρακτοι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἤδη πικροῖς

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Preparations for war

was done by the other. When Octavian saw that they were everywhere preparing for war, each side made similar preparations.

23. Two legions of the army which had been colonised at Ancona and which had served under the elder Caesar and under Antony, hearing of the respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavian replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavian to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Praeneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavian, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision killed some of them. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again.

Another arbitration proposed

24. Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavian and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations even now full of bitterness against each

The negotiations are fruitless

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κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἐχρῶντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ὁπλιτῶν ἓξ τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐλθὼν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἕνδεκα ἕτερα, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν· Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύῃ τέσσαρα ἦν τέλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ στρατηγίδες, ἓξ δὲ ἕτερα Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἦγεν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ πολεμουμένων, Καίσαρι δέ, ἃ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς Σαρδοῦς ἐπολεμεῖτο, ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδανείζετο, σὺν χάριτι ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀπό τε Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπο Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουβίου καὶ Νεμοῦς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν δαψιλεῖς.

25. Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔξω. Πομπήιος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Λευκίου διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες ἢ τὰ ὄντα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλιστα· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεότης ὡρμημένη στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν, ὑφ᾽ ὅτῳ στρατεύσονται, Ῥωμαίοις πανταχοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρουν ὡς δικαιότερα αἱρούμενον. γεγένητό τε πλούσιος ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίου λείας καὶ ναῦς εἶχε πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐντελῆ. Μοῦρκός τε ἀφῖκτο αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ

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other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus; these were all in Italy. Octavian had four legions at Capua and his praetorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain.[1] Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. But war was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavian except Sardinia,[2] for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks—from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus,[3] and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money.

Growing power of Sextus Pompeius

25. The affairs of Octavian were in disorder outside of Italy also. For Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonising of the soldiers, and these dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and full crews. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large

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[1] The text says "*from* Spain," but this is obviously an error, perhaps Appian's own. See c. 27 below.

[2] There is perhaps a gap in the text here. [3] Near Aricia.

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ναῦς ὀγδοήκοντα· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ Κεφαλληνίας μετεπέμπετο. ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρῶς ἂν τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῆσαι, ὑπό τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρμένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώσης.

26. Ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε ἥσσων ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Σέξστιος, ὕπαρχος Ἀντωνίου, παραδεδώκει μὲν ἄρτι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπὸ Λευκίου κεκελευσμένος, Φάγγωνι τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλὲν αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπολέμει, συναγαγὼν τινας τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ Λιβύων πλῆθος ἄλλο καὶ ἑτέρους παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἡττηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερῶν ἑκατέρων καὶ ληφθέντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁ Φάγγων ἡγούμενος ἐκ προδοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο. καὶ Λιβύης μὲν αὖθις ὁ Σέξστιος ἑκατέρας ἐκράτει· Βόκχον δὲ τὸν Μαυρουσίων βασιλέα Λεύκιος ἔπεισε πολεμεῖν Καρρίνᾳ τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἀηνόβαρβός τε ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ στρατοῦ δύο τέλεσι καὶ τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς καὶ μονομάχοις περιπλέων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἔς τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπιπλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τριήρων τὰς μὲν εἷλε, τὰς δὲ ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς Βρεντεσίους ἐς τὰ τείχη κατέκλεισε καὶ τὴν χώραν προυνόμευεν.

27. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον στρατιωτῶν τέλος ἔπεμπε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὁδοῦ μετεκάλει. τούς τε στρατολογήσοντας σφίσιν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ

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sum of money, and eighty ships; he also sent for the other army from Cephallenia. Accordingly, some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was wasted with famine and civil strife, and was looking for him, he might easily have mastered it.

26. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed in that also. In Africa Sextius, Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavian. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauretania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavian's procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundusium, captured some of the triremes of Octavian, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory.

Affairs in Africa

27. Octavian sent a legion of soldiers to Brundusium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavian and Lucius sent recruiting officers throughout Italy, who had skir-

Beginning of hostilities

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Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος περιέπεμπον· πεῖραί τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους βραχύτεραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνέδραι πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ εὔνοια τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὡς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχουμένοις πολεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ πόλεις ἔτι μόναι, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἅπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβουμένη τὰ ὅμοια· τούς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κιχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰ τείχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν. ἐχώρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἤδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἑκάτεροι διαρούμενοι.

28. Καὶ τῶνδε γιγνομένων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅμως ἔτι τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε· “καταγινώσκομαι μέν, εὖ οἶδα, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτούς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἀτολμίαν, ἃ καὶ νῦν μου καταγνώσονται διὰ τήνδε τὴν σύνοδον ὑμῶν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὅσος τέ μοι συναδικεῖται τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀφαιρούμενος ὑπὸ Λευκίου καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, ὃν ἔχω, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τῆς γνώμης μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἡδύ μοι πολεμεῖν ἐμφυλίους πολέμους χωρὶς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἢ Θράκης ἀκουσθησομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἣν πόσα χρὴ χωρὶς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνδρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γιγνομένην στάδιον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ὀκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν

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mishes with each other of more or less importance, and frequent ambuscades. The good-will of the Italians was of great service to Lucius, as they believed that he was fighting for them against the new colonists. Not only the cities that had been designated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy, rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money from the temples for Octavian, manned their walls, and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the colonised soldiers joined Octavian. Each one in both parties took sides as though this were his own war.

Octavian seeks peace

28. Though these events were taking place, Octavian nevertheless convoked the Senate and the equestrian order and addressed them as follows: “I know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his friends of weakness and want of courage because I do not fight them, and that I shall be still further accused on account of my calling you together. But I have strong forces who have suffered wrong in common with me, both those who have been dispossessed of their colonies by Lucius and the others whom I have in hand; and I am strong in all other respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens in conflicts with each other; least of all in this civil war, whose horrors will not be announced to us from Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must suffer countless evils in addition to the loss of life. For these reasons I hesitate. And now I do still protest

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ἀδικεῖν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐλέγξαι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον τάδε δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαι μοι παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιντο μηδὲ νῦν, ἐκείνοις μὲν αὐτίκα δείξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐβουλίαν, οὐ δειλίαν οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶ μάρτυρας εἶναί μοι καὶ συνίστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου."

29. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ. *καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς τὸ* Πραινεστὸν *ἐξέτρεχον· καὶ ὁ* Λεύκιος *τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη προειλήφασιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὁ* Καῖσαρ *ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἄρτι πέμψας ἐς τὸ* Βρεντέσιον *κωλύειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπανιόντα. ὁ δὲ* Μάνιος *καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, εἴτε πλασάμενος εἴτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῇ. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῖτό τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως Ἀντωνίου, καὶ προκαλουμένων ἐς δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἕτερα αὖ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ* Μάνιος, *ἕως οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ* Καίσαρι, *εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγγείλας ἕκαστος εἴτε δι' ἑτέραν γνώμην εἴτε ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀνέῳκτο, καὶ ὁ* Καῖσαρ *ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξῄει, φύλακα τῆς* Ῥώμης *Λέπιδον σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυον οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν.*

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that I do Antony no wrong, nor do I suffer any wrong from him, but I beseech you to reason with Lucius and his friends on your own account, and to bring them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot even now persuade them, I shall presently show them that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by cowardice; and I ask you to be witnesses for me not only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius."

Ineffectual embassy to Lucius

29. So spake Octavian. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Praeneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavian was practising deception; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundusium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed also a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away unsuccessful. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavian, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavian set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the aristocrats then most clearly showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs.

IV

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30. Καὶ ἦν τὰ κεφαλαια τοῦ πολέμου τοιάδε. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ Ἄλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐχώρει· ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Λευκίου, φθάσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Λεύκιος ἀνεσώσατο αὐτὰ χρήμασί τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι μεγάλαις. Φουρνίου δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντος τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξήπτετο τῆς οὐραγίας· ἐς δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φουρνίῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς ὁμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἕσπετο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύων, ἡμέρας δὲ τήν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προύπεμψεν, αἳ νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ μονομάχοις εἵπετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ' αὑτῷ στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντος, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐς Καίσαρα ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἑκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

31. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἰπών, ἡδομένων ἁπάντων καὶ ἡγουμένων ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχώρει καὶ στρατὸν ἤθροιζεν ἄλλον

IV

CHAP. IV

War begun

30. The following were the principal events of the war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and began to revolt. Both Octavian and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reinforcement to Lucius, Octavian fell upon his rearguard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavian did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavian. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavian and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers.

Lucius declares his intention to restore the republic

31. All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavian, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized

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ἐκ τῶν ἀποικίδων Ἀντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκρατύνατο. αἱ δὲ δι' εὐνοίας μὲν ἦσαν Ἀντωνίῳ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίου ταμίας, Ἀντωνίῳ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπανιών, ἔλεγε πυνθανομένοις τὸν Ἀντώνιον χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μέν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἐξαπάτης ᾔσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου μετετίθεντο· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὑπήντα Σαλουιδιηνῷ μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἐκ Κελτῶν ἐπανιόντι. καὶ εἵποντο τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ Ἀσίνιός τε καὶ Οὐεντίδιος, Ἀντωνίου στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἵδε, κωλύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰέναι. Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλτατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ μὴ κυκλωθείη, Σούτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ Λευκίῳ, νομίσας τὸν Λεύκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ περισπάσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἷ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν βοηθήσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Λευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τάδε μέν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίγνετο ἅπαντα· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ Οὐεντίδιον ᾔει, ἐνοχλούντων αὐτὸν ἑκατέρωθεν Σαλουιδιηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

32. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Λεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἑκατέρωθεν οὖσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἐς Περυσίαν παρῆλθεν, ἐχυρὰν πόλιν, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον περιμένων. ὁμοῦ δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν Περυσίαν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐκυκλώ-

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by Antony's soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward Antony. Barbatius, Antony's quaestor, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavian to the prejudice of their common sway: whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavian. Lucius put himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavian with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, also Antony's generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavian, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that he would turn Lucius from Salvidienus and draw him upon himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles.

He seeks to intercept Salvidienus

Agrippa prevents him

32. When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him; so he turned aside to Perusia, a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavian advanced against him and against Perusia and enclosed them with three armies

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σαντο· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκάλει πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ Λεύκιον εἶχε περιειλημμένον. προύπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους, ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὤκνουν ἐπείγεσθαι, τόν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ παριέντες ἀλλήλοις κατ' ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος οὔτ' ἐς μάχην ᾔει τοῖς περικαθημένοις, ἀμείνοσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὖσι καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχων τὸ πλέον, οὔτε ἐς ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐνοχλησόντων αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τοσῶνδε. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἔπεμπεν, ἐπείγειν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιηνὸν μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων, λεηλατεῖν τὰ Καίσαρος, ἵνα ἀνασταίη. αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ὡς ἐν ὀχυρᾷ πόλει χειμάσων, εἰ δέοι, μέχρι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.

33. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περυσίαν ἀπετείχιζε χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἓξ σταδίους περιιὼν διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶδες καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν μὴ ἐσφέροιτο. ἀντεπονεῖτό γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος, ἑτέροις ὁμοίοις χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πέζαν ὀχυρούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτήιον καὶ Καληνον ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἤπειγε βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἔπεμπεν ἄγειν Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ῥώμην

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and Octavian summoned reinforcements in haste from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they altogether disapproved of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, since so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the aid of the besieged Lucius, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perusia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive.

Lucius besieged in Perusia

33. Octavian, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of palisade and ditch around Perusia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, that nothing might be introduced into the place. Lucius on his part built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reinforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavian's legions, which

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ὁδεῦον διέφθειρεν· Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντιδίου σὺν μὲν ὄκνῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὅμως καὶ διὰ Μάνιον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον ἰόντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ, φυλακὴν τῆς Περυσίας καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ οὔτε πω συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις οὔτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, ὁ δ' ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέλθοιεν, ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ἐπανῆλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεσταύρου καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὡς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφότερα εἶναι, τό τε περιτείχισμα ὕψου καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλίνους δι' ἑξήκοντα ποδῶν ἵστη χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· καὶ ἐπάλξεις τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα διμέτωπος, ἔς τε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπίοι. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαῖς καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντίσαι μὲν ἀμεινόνων ὄντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων· καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον συμπλεκόμενοι.

34. Ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἥπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἤκμαζεν ἀγρίως ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρεσκευασμένης. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰσθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐποίει. νουμηνίας δὲ ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὔσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λεύκιος τὴν ἑορτὴν ὡς ἀμελείας τοῖς πολεμίοις

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was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's intention), in order to raise the blockade, Octavian and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perusia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated—Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spoletium. Octavian stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perusia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front, to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavian had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters.

He there awaits reinforcements

34. When the work of Octavian was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations beforehand. Knowing this fact Octavian kept the most vigilant watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under

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αἰτίαν ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὡς διεκπαίσων αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμενος ἑτέραν· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι σπείραις ἐπιδραμόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος μάλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀνεώσθη. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρατευομένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ φανερῶς ἐπηρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέχοντες ἐπὶ ἐρεύνῃ σίτου, ὅσα εὕροιεν, ἥρπαζον.

35. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἐχώρουν ἐς αὐτὸν ἅπαντες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαντώντων δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι πλείονος, ἔδεισαν, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιόν τι χωρίον ἐξέκλιναν, ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους τῆς Περυσίας διεστηκός· ἔνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμβολα τῷ Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεντίδιος μὲν καὶ Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὡς μαχούμενοι, Πλάγκος δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου, χρῆναι δ' ἔτι καραδοκεῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα· καὶ ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ ἰδόντες ἥδοντο, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν βραδυνόντων εἴκασαν καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρθαι. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐνυκτομάχησεν αὖθις ἐκ

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the belief that the enemy would be off their guard, to make a sally by night against their gates, hoping to break through them and bring in his other forces, of which he had abundance in many places. But the legion that was lying in wait near by, and Octavian himself with some praetorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius, although he fought valiantly, was driven back. About the same time the mass of the people in Rome openly denounced the war and the victory, because the grain was kept under guard for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search of food, and carried off whatever they could find.

B.C. 40

His lieutenants fail to assist him

35. Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on while Lucius was perishing of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower Caesar's forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with still larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium, distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa besieged them, and they lighted many fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the opinion that they should still go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavian and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed. Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night battle, extending from the first watch till daylight,

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πρώτης φυλακῆς ἐς ἕω περὶ ἅπαν τὸ περιτείχισμα· καὶ οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀνέθορεν αὖθις ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος τροφὰς ἀπεῖπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ἐφύλασσεν αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώτερον γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἡλῶντο οὖν οἱ θεράποντες κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατέπιπτον ἔν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου διατειχίσματος, πόαν εἴ τινα εὕροιεν ἢ φυλλάδα χλωράν, νεμόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀποψύχοντας ὁ Λεύκιος ἐς τάφρους ἐπιμήκεις κατώρυσσεν, ἵνα μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο, μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμὸς καὶ νόσος.

36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ λιμοῦ τι τέλος ἦν οὔτε τῶν θανάτων, ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις οἱ ὁπλῖται παρεκάλουν τὸν Λεύκιον αὖθις ἀποπειρᾶσαι τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς διακόψοντες αὐτὰ πάντως. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀποδεξάμενος, “οὐκ ἀξίως,” ἔφη, “πρῴην τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἠγωνισάμεθα,” καὶ νῦν ἢ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς ἢ τοῦτο χεῖρον ἡγουμένους θανάτου μάχεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου. δεξαμένων δὲ προθύμως ἁπάντων καί, ἵνα μή τις ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πρόφασις γένοιτο, κατὰ φῶς ἄγειν σφᾶς κελευόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος ἦγε πρὸ ἡμέρας. σίδηρόν τε τειχομάχον εἶχον πολὺν καὶ κλίμακας ἐς εἴδη πάντα διεσκευασμένας. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ τάφρων ἐγχωστήρια ὄργανα καὶ πύργοι πτυκτοί, σανίδας ἐς τὰ τείχη μεθιέντες, καὶ βέλη παντοῖα καὶ λίθοι, καὶ γέρρα τοῖς σκόλοψιν ἐπιρριπτεῖσθαι. προσπεσόντες δὲ μεθ' ὁρμῆς βιαίου τὴν τάφρον ἐνέχωσαν καὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ

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Famine in Perusia

around the whole circumvallation; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

Lucius attempts to break out

36. As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardour, saying, “In our recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death.” All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be let down to the walls; also all kinds of missiles and stones, and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, scaled the

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τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες οἱ μὲν ὑπώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπῆγον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πύργους· ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἠμύνοντο λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μολυβδαίναις σὺν πολλῇ θανάτου καταφρονήσει. καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο κατὰ μέρη πολλά· ἐπειδὴ δέ τινας . . . ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.

37. Ἐκταθεισῶν δέ που τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, βία τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνος ἦν τῶν Λευκιανῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς σανίσι μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη πλάγια πάντοθεν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια. ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλαντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἵποντο ἕτεροι· καὶ τάχα ἄν τι ἐξείργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονοίας, εἰ μή, γνωσθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρειῶν ἀκμῆτες ἐπήγοντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς κατήρειψαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συνέτριψαν καὶ ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἤδη σὺν καταφρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοὴ σφᾶς ἐπελελοίπει, παρέμενον δ' ὅμως τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνῃρημένων ἐσκυλευμένα κάτω διερριπτεῖτο, τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως, καὶ μικρὸν ἔστησαν ἀποροῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ διαναπαυόμενοι. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐλεῶν ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀναχωρεῖν. ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἷον ἐπὶ νίκῃ,

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palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some of them undermined, while others applied the ladders, and others simultaneously moved up the towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows, and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death. This was done at many different places, and the enemy being drawn in many different directions made a more feeble resistance.[1]

37. The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on the bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something in their desperation, had not the fact become known to Octavian that they had not many such machines, so that the best of his reserves were brought fresh to the assistance of the tired men. These troops now flung the assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contemptuously (fearing them no longer) from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their cries had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them, they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavian joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon

He is defeated after desperate fighting

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[1] The text here is incomplete.

CAP. IV

ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμακας αὖθις ἁρπάσαντες (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἶχον) ἔφερον ἐς τὰ τείχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο. περιθέων δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκιος ἐδεῖτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἔτι καὶ οἰμώζοντας ἀπῆγεν ἄκοντας.

38. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆσδε τῆς τειχομαχίας, ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις ἐπιτολμήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἵδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχή τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀθυμία δὲ ἐπεῖχε τοὺς τοῦ Λευκίου, καί, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἠμέλουν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίαι πολλῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀφανέστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τινες ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδου τε ὁ Λεύκιος ἤδη πρὸς διαλύσεις ἐλέῳ τοσοῦδε πλήθους ἀπολλυμένου, ἐχθρῶν δέ τινων Καίσαρος περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων ἔτι ἐπεῖχεν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤφθη τοὺς αὐτομόλους φιλανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος καὶ πλείων ὁρμὴ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγίγνετο, δέος ἥπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγων ἐκδοθείη.

V

CAP. V

39. Γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πειρας καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀηδοῦς, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν

CHAP. IV

those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized their ladders (although they had no more towers), and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they had not the strength. Lucius ran among them and besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and led them back groaning and reluctant.

38. This was the end of this hotly contested siege. In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavian stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and thus desertion became more frequent, not only of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the higher officers also. And now Lucius inclined toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude, but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavian for their own safety still restrained him. But as Octavian was observed to treat the deserters kindly, and the desire for peace increased among all, Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should be delivered up.

He begins to entertain thoughts of surrender

V

CHAP. V

39. Accordingly, having made a sort of test which gave him satisfactory encouragement, Lucius called

CAP. V

ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πάτριον ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, τυραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδ', ἐφ' ᾗ συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθνεώτων διαλυθεῖσαν. Λεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφῃρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτω χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἷς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διῴκει, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥωμαίοις πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλως. ἅπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐς τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ἠξίουν τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγκάσαι. ὁ δέ με τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν τὰς κληρουχίας ἐλέῳ τῶν γεωργῶν· καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε ἠγνόησα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπίστευσά τινα πιστεύσειν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένους, οἳ μεριεῖν ἔμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρουχίας. ἀλλὰ ἐδημαγώγησε γάρ τινας ἡ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ᾤχοντο πολεμήσοντες ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζουσι, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ' αὑτῶν. ὑμῖν δ' ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἑλομένοις τὰ ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν, ἡττήμεθα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐγκαταλελείμμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου δαίμονος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· καλὸν γάρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ

CHAP. V

He addresses his soldiers on the subject

his army together and spoke as follows: "It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antony was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office. Octavian falsely accused me, before the army, of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of this slander for a long time, and even when I learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could believe it, when one saw that the colony officers were men assigned by my very self to divide the lands among you. But the calumny misled some people, who joined Octavian in order to make war against you, as they think. But eventually they will find that they have been warring against their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen the better cause, and that you have suffered for it beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have been left a prey by our own generals. It would be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity for my country. Such an end would set a halo of

τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει· οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς, οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημι εὐκλείας. πέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ὃ θέλει καταχρήσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὖσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲ πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ ἡσσημένοις πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λιμῷ."

40. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε τρεῖς ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἡ δὲ πληθὺς ἀνῴμωζον, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, γνώμῃ μὲν ὁμοῦ σφισιν ἀρίστου καὶ δημοκρατικοῦ φανέντος, ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἡττημένου. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυχόντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀνεμίμνῃσκον τοῦ γένους τῶν στρατῶν ἑνὸς ἑκατέροις ὄντος καὶ στρατειῶν ὁμοῦ γενομένων καὶ φιλίας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προγόνων οὐκ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόντων· ὅσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἐπαγωγά, τούτοις ὅμοια, ἔλεγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους γεγυμνασμένους ἔφη τεχνάζων τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευσαμένοις διδόναι τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, ὡς χάριν ἐκείνῳ φέρων, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς ἑαυτῷ προσέτασσεν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ἅπασιν ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἕνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπολαβών, Φούρνιον, ἐς μείζονα φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρὶς τῶν ἰδίων ἐχθρῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

fame upon my high purposes. To that destiny I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror and beg that he will inflict such punishment as he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you; that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you, his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war, but by hunger."

He sends envoys to Octavian

40. After speaking thus he at once selected three men from the optimates for this mission. The multitude wept, some on their own account, some on account of their general, who appeared to them to have been actuated by the most excellent and democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to the presence of Octavian, reminded him that the soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and that they had made campaigns together. They called to mind the friendship of the nobility on either side and also the virtue of their ancestors, who did not allow their differences to become irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments which were calculated to prevail with him. Octavian, knowing that some of the enemy were still raw recruits, while others were veteran colonists, replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to Antony's soldiers out of regard for him, but that the others must surrender at discretion. This he said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius, one of the three, he led him to expect mild treatment for Lucius and the rest, except his own personal enemies.

CAP. V

41. Οἵδε οὖν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, τὴν ἰδίᾳ γενομένην ἔντευξιν τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπονοοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσι γενέσθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν Φούρνιον ἐλοιδόρουν ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Λεύκιον ἠξίουν ἢ σπονδὰς αὖθις αἰτεῖν ὁμοίας ἅπασιν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ γὰρ ἴδιόν τινι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπῄνει μὲν ἐλεῶν ἄνδρας ὁμοτίμους καὶ πέμψειν ἔλεγεν ἑτέρους, οὐδένα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀμείνονα ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἄνευ κήρυκος ᾔει, προθεόντων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελούντων Καίσαρι κατιέναι Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπήντα. ἑωρῶντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἤδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφανεῖς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὔσης ἑκατέρῳ στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἀποθέμενος τοὺς φίλους ᾔει σὺν δύο ῥαβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνὺς ἅμα τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ συνεὶς ἀντεμιμεῖτο ἐς δεῖγμα καὶ ὅδε τῆς εἰς τὸν Λεύκιον εὐνοίας ἐσομένης· ὡς δὲ καὶ σπεύδοντα εἶδε τὸν Λεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τῷδε φαίνοιτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπων ἤδη, προλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χαρακώμακος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Λευκίῳ βουλεύεσθαί τε καὶ κρίνειν ἔτι περὶ αὑτοῦ. τοιάδε ἀλλήλοις προσιόντες ἀπό τε τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων προαπεδείκνυντο.

42. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἀφίκοντο, προσηγόρευσάν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη· "εἰ

CHAP. V

He makes a personal visit to Octavian

41. These personal enemies of Octavian, having learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting that it related to themselves, reproached him when he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that he should ask a new treaty, which should include all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this had not been a private war for any individual, but a public one in behalf of their country. Lucius approved, pitying them as men of the same rank as himself, and said that he would send another embassy. Then he added that no one was better fitted for this task than himself, and went immediately without a herald, merely preceded by some persons who went in advance to announce to Octavian his coming. The latter at once advanced to meet him. There they saw each other surrounded by their friends and conspicuous by the standards and military equipment of generals on either side. Then Lucius, dismissing[1] his friends, went forward with two lictors only, showing his state of mind by his outward appearance. Octavian understood and imitated his example, showing his intended good-will toward Lucius. When he saw the latter hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavian anticipated him and went outside the fortification in order that Lucius might still be free to consult and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as they moved forward they foreshadowed their intentions to each other in advance, by their retinue and their outward appearance.

Lucius' speech

42. When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I had been a

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[1] Perhaps: "putting off his uniform and dismissing . . ."

CAP. V μὲν ξένος ὢν ἐπολέμησα, ὦ Καῖσαρ, αἰσχρὰν ἂν τὴν τοιαύτην ἧσσαν ἡγούμην καὶ αἰσχίονα ἔτι τὴν παράδοσιν· καὶ τῆσδε τῆς αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἀπαλλαγὴν εὔκολον παρʼ ἐμαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτῃ διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦμαι μετὰ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιοῦδε ἡσσῆσθαι. καὶ τάδε λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, ὅ τι θέλοις (διὰ γάρ σοι τοῦτο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἱέμην), ἀλλʼ ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτήσω συγγνώμην δικαίαν τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρουσαν. δεῖ δέ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα διελεῖν τὸν λόγον ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἐμὲ τῶν γεγονότων αἴτιον ἐπιγνοὺς εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὀργὴν συναγάγῃς. μὴ νομίσῃς δὲ ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας (ἄκαιρον γάρ), ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἧς οὐκ ἔνι μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.

43. “Ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἠράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλʼ ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδʼ ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντείποις· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἳ τὸ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμούντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ

foreigner waging war against you, Octavian, I should consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should have for myself an easy means of deliverance from such humiliation. But since I have been contending with a countryman, my equal in rank, on behalf of our country, I do not consider it disgraceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that I have come to your camp without any guarantee), but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and conducive to your own interests. That I may make this clear to you it is necessary to separate their cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath upon me, and not think that I have come here to bandy words (for that would be inopportune), but to tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak otherwise. CHAP. V

43. “I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I

CAP. V τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦψαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἠξίουν, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελθόντα πείσειν ἑκόντα, ἐπειγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατῆρξας σύ, μόνος ἂν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶχες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δή σε οὐκ ἔπειθον, ᾤμην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, πολίτης τε ὢν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὕπατος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δι' ἃς ἐπολέμησα, αὗται μόναι, καὶ οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φουλβία, οὔτε ἡ κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε ἔλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐπεὶ κἀγὼ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστὰς ἔδωκα, οἳ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διένεμον. ἀλλά με σὺ τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἑλὼν ἐμοῦ κεκράτηκας· ἀνεπείσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαί τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαί με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν μὲν δή σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα· νικήσαντα δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐχθρὸς εἶ τῆς πατρίδος, κἀμὲ ἡγεῖσθαι πολέμιον, ἃ ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουληθέντα μέν, οὐ δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

44. "Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἐμαυτόν σοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς ὅ τι θέλοις, ὑποδεικνὺς δέ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ καὶ φρονῶν ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμην. καὶ περὶ μὲν

demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the custom of our fathers, not even preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the city and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone: not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother's legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice while you were waging war. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it. CHAP. V

44. "While I say these things I surrender myself to you, as I have already declared, to do with me whatever you wish. I came here alone merely to show what I have thought of you before the war, during the war, and at this moment. So much for **Lucius surrenders unconditionally**

ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα· περὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντός, εἰ μὲν οὐχ ὑποπτεύσεις με λέγοντα, συμβουλεύσω τὰ σοὶ μάλιστα ὠφελιμώτατα, μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ τύχῃ χρώμενον, οὐ βεβαίῳ πράγματι, κωλῦσαι τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχαις ἢ χρείαις ἐθελήσοντάς ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθόντας ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σοῦ νόμου δυσέλπιστον σῴζεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὕποπτος ἢ ἄπιστος ἐχθροῦ πᾶσα συμβουλή, οὐκ ὀκνῶ καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φίλους τίνυσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συναγαγεῖν πάντα, τὸν πάντων αἴτιον. ἀφ' ἧς δὴ γνώμης αὐτοὺς ὑπελιπόμην, ἵνα μὴ δόξαιμι, σοὶ τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκουόντων, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τεχνάζων εἰπεῖν."

45. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ σιωπήσαντος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν· "ἄσπονδον μέν σε κατιόντα πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁρῶν, ὦ Λεύκιε, ὑπήντησα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔτι ἐκτὸς ὄντι κατὰ σπουδήν, ἵνα ἔτι κύριος ὢν σεαυτοῦ βουλεύοιο καὶ λέγοις καὶ πράττοις, ἃ νομίζεις σοι συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογούντων, σαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν τέχνῃ μου κατεψεύσω. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέ με βλάψειν ἑλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἔβλαψας. σπονδὰς γάρ μοι τιθέμενος ἔτυχες ἂν ἠδικημένου καὶ νενικηκότος·

myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is, that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rule there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I do not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be securing favour for myself in an underhand way."

45. After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavian said: "When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my entrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you

ἄσπονδον δὲ σαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρέπων ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαιρῇ μὲν πᾶσαν ὀργήν, ἀφαιρῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν σπενδόμενος ἂν ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. συμπέπλεκται γὰρ οἷς ἄξιον ὑμᾶς παθεῖν, τὸ προσῆκον ὧν ἐμὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖν· ὃ δὴ προτιμήσω διά τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Λεύκιε, καὶ οὐ ψεύσω σε τῆς προσδοκίας, ἣν ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κατελήλυθας."

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ἀλλήλοις, ὡκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων. καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ θαύματι τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχων, οὐδὲν ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἀγεννὲς οὐδ' ἀσύνετον εἰπόντα, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τὸν Καίσαρα τοῦ τε ἤθους καὶ βραχυλογίας. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἑκατέρων.

46. Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληψομένους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος· οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλίαρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιβλίον ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς φυλακὰς ἔτι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, νυκτοφυλακεῖν ἑκατέρους τὰ ἴδια· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ

had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself and your friends and your army without conditions, you take away not only all resentment, but also the power which, under negotiations for a treaty, you would necessarily have given me. There is involved in this question not only what you and your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the latter my chief consideration on account of the gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius, and I shall not disappoint the expectation with which you came to me."

These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language.[1] They then separated, and Octavian praised and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavian for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gathered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the two parties.

46. Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavian, and they took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavian himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night, and the next morn-

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[1] Probably the Memoirs here mentioned are those of Octavian himself, to which reference is made in *Illyr.* 14, and in *C. W.* iv. 110.

CAP. V ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔθυεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα φέροντα, ἐσκευασμένον δ' ὡς ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ. οἱ δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν μέρει κατὰ τέλος, οὗ προσέταξεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, οἵ τε κληροῦχοι καὶ οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κεχωρισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκτελεσθείσης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δάφνῃ, συμβόλῳ νίκης, προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ προσέταξε μὲν ἅπασι θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ἔνθα εἱστήκεσαν, θεμένων δὲ τοὺς κληρούχους, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν, διεγνωκὼς ἄρα ὀνειδίσαι τῆς ἀχαριστίας καὶ φοβῆσαι. προέγνωστο δὲ μέλλων ὧδε ποιήσειν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε ἐξεπίτηδες, οἷα προδιδάσκονται πολλάκις, εἴτε ὑπὸ πάθους ὡς πρὸς οἰκείους ἄνδρας, ἀκρατεῖς τῆς δεδομένης σφίσι τάξεως γενόμενοι, προσιοῦσι τοῖς Λευκιανοῖς οἷα συνεστρατευμένοις ποτὲ περιχυθέντες ἠσπάζοντο καὶ συνέκλαιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν καὶ οὔτε βοῶντες ἔτι ἐπαύοντο οὔτε συμπλεκόμενοι, κοινωνούντων ἑκατέροις τοῦ πάθους ἤδη καὶ τῶν νεοστρατεύτων· οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκριμένον ἔτι οὐδ' εὔκριτον.

47. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι τῆς γνώμης ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ μόλις τὴν βοὴν καταπαύσας εἶπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. "ὑμεῖς μέν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, οὕτως ἀεί μοι προσενήνεχθε ὡς μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν νεοστρατεύτους ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεῦσθαι Λευκίῳ νομίζω, τουτωνὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστρατευμένων τε πολλάκις ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν σῳζομένων ἐπενόουν πυθέσθαι,

CHAP V ing Octavian offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared for marching. They saluted Octavian as imperator while still at some distance, and each legion took its separate position as Octavian had directed, the colonized veterans being apart from the new levies. When Octavian had finished the sacrifice he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood. When they had done so he ordered the veterans to draw nearer, intending, it seems, to reproach them for their ingratitude and to strike terror into them. It was known beforehand what he was about to do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy as for their own relatives, broke from the formation in which they had been placed, crowded around Lucius' men as they approached their former fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them, and implored Octavian in their behalf, and ceased not crying out and embracing them, the new levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between them.

The soldiers of the two armies embrace one another

47. For this reason Octavian did not persist in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows: "You have always behaved in such a way to me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from me in vain. I think that the new levies served Lucius under compulsion, but I intended to ask these old soldiers, who have often served with us and who are now saved from punishment by you,

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τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος χάριτος οὐκ ἀξιωθέντες ἢ τί μεῖζον παρ' ἑτέρου προσδοκῶντες ἐναντία ὅπλα ἤραντο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς; ἃ γὰρ ἔκαμνον ἐγώ, πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας, ἧς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετῆν. καὶ εἰ συγχωρεῖτέ μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι." οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακαλούντων, "συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν, ὅσα βούλεσθε," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθεῖς τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ἂν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὅμοια φρονῶσιν." ὑπισχνουμένων δ' ἑκατέρων βοαί τε καὶ χάριτες ἦσαν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα· καί τισιν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψέ τινας καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοῦν, ἔνθα περ εἱστήκεσαν, ἄπωθεν, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πόλεις τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐς τὰς πόλεις δοίη.

48. Καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκάλει τὸν Λεύκιον ἐκ τῆς Περυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων. καὶ κατῄεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, ἐν ὄψει πάντες οἰκτρᾷ καὶ ὀξείᾳ μεταβολῇ. ἅμα δὲ ἐξῄεσαν οὗτοι τῆς Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρὰ τὴν πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, Λεύκιον μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑαυτῷ παρεστήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς τιμὴν ἀπάγειν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν ἄσημον. τοὺς δὲ Περυσίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν

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what they have suffered at our hands, or what favour they have asked in vain, or what greater favours they expected from anybody else that they have taken up arms against me, against you, against themselves. For all the trouble I have met with has grown out of the division of the lands, in which they had their share. And now if you will permit me I will yet ask them these questions." They would not allow him to do so, but continued their beseeching. "I grant what you wish," he said. "Let them be dismissed without punishment for their wrong-doing, provided they will hereafter be like-minded with you." They promised on both sides with acclamations and thanks to Octavian, who allowed some of his own men to entertain some of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder to pitch their tents where they had been stationed, at a certain distance from the others, until he should assign them towns for winter quarters and appoint persons to lead them thither.

Octavian pardons Lucius and all but a few leaders

48. Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavian summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of responsibility who were with him. Many of the senators and knights came down, all presenting a pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia a guard was stationed around it. When they reached the tribunal Octavian placed Lucius by his own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge by the friends of Octavian, others by centurions, all of whom had been instructed beforehand to show them honour and to keep watch upon them unobserved. He commanded the Perusians who stretched out their hands to him from the walls, to come

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ἥκειν, ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς μόνης· καὶ ἐλθοῦσι συνέγνω. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τότε μὲν φύλαξι παρεδόθησαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀνῃρέθησαν, χωρὶς Αἰμιλίου Λευκίου, ὃς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερῶς καὶ πάντας φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐκλυομένους μύσος.

49. Τὴν δὲ Περυσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ στρατῷ, Κέστιος δέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκὼς καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὑτὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐνέπρησε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἄνεμοι τὴν φλόγα ὑπολαβόντες περιήνεγκαν ἐκ ὅλην Περυσίαν, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου μόνου. τόδε μὲν δὴ τῇ Περυσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἀξιώσεως· ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν πάλαι φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις δυώδεκα πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἔσεβον, οἷα Τυρρηνοί· τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν Ἥφαιστον σφίσιν ἔθεντο θεὸν εἶναι πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἅπασιν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπί τισι θορυβῶν, ἕως ἀνῃρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μάλιστα Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, Καννούτιός τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάυιος καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ Βιθυνικὸς καὶ ἕτεροι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ Λευκίου πολιορκίας, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὧδε ἐξελέλυτο, χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ χρόνιος ἐλπισθεὶς ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

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forward, all except their town council, and as they presented themselves he pardoned them; but the councillors were thrown into prison and soon afterward put to death, except Lucius Aemilius, who had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the murderers of Caesar, who had voted openly for condemnation, and had advised all the others to do the same in order to expiate the guilt.

Perusia destroyed by fire

49. Octavian intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames, and a strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavian made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were the chief personal enemies of Octavian, namely, Cannutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the seige of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy.

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50. Καὶ γὰρ Ἀσίνιος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ Οὐεντίδιος καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀτήιος καὶ ὅσοι τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ὄντες ἕτεροι στρατὸν εἶχον οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ' εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυμνασμένα καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις, ἡγούμενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου Λεύκιον γενονέναι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ᾔεσαν, ἕτερος ἑτέρας ὁδούς, οἱ μὲν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, οἱ δ' ἐς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Μοῦρκον ἢ Ἀηνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντώνιον, διωκόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων καὶ σπονδὰς προτεινόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνοχλούντων τὰ πεζὰ μάλιστα· ὧν δὴ καὶ μόνων Ἀγρίππας ἔπεισε μεταθέσθαι δύο τέλη Πλάγκου, ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερίᾳ. ἔφευγε δὲ καὶ Φουλβία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἱππέων οἳ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπεστάλησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ νεῶν πέντε μακρῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπιβᾶσα ἀνήγετο· καὶ αὐτῇ Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ δὲ Οὐεντίδιον σφῶν εἵλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίνιος δὲ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ συνετίθετο φιλίαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον· καὶ ἐπέστελλον ἄμφω τάδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ὡς αὐτίκα ἥξοντι εὐτρέπιζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

51. Ἄλλῳ δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ

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The armies of Asinius, Plancus, and Ventidius

50. For Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius to have been the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundusium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavian followed them, offering terms of peace, and, when they refused, harassing especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desert to him. Fulvia also fled with her children to Dicaearchia,[1] and thence to Brundusium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundusium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy.

51. Octavian was planning to get possession of

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[1] The Greek name of the modern Pozzuoli.

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Ἄλπεις, οὗ Φούφιος Καληνὸς ἡγεῖτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν, ἤδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἢ φίλῳ ἔτι ὄντι φυλάξειν ἢ πολεμοῦντος μεγάλην ἰσχὺν προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλλοντος δὲ ὅμως ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιορωμένου, ὁ Καληνὸς ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐς ἀμφότερα πρόφασιν εὑρών, ᾔει καὶ παρελάμβανε τόν τε στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὔσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ, Φουφίου τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τε αὐτὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἅπαντα ἀμαχεί.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἑνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ ἕνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας τοσάσδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν παρέλυε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἰδίους ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν· 52. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος χειμῶνος μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας, ἔτι ἐπικρύπτων, ἃ ἐφρόνει, ἦρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὥδευεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀσίας ᾔσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐμέμφετο καὶ Φουλβίαν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Μάνιον. Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὗρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ Βρεντεσίου φυγοῦσαν· Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήιος, ἐς αὐτὸν διαφυγοῦσαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ παρέπεμπον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄριστοι, Λεύκιός τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ Σατουρνῖνος καὶ ἕτεροι, ὅσοι χρῄζοντες τῆς Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἠξίουν αὐτὸν συναλλαγέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καίσαρι λαβεῖν

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Octavian gains possession of the army of Calenus

another considerable army belonging to Antony, that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony, and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to preserve these forces for him, or, if war should break out, to add this large force to his own strength. While he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-seeming occasion, Calenus died; and Octavian, believing that he had found a good excuse for both transactions, went and took possession of the army and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were also Antony's provinces. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrified, and delivered everything over to him without a fight.

Octavian, having acquired eleven legions of soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dismissed the chief officers from their commands, substituted his own, and returned to Rome. 52. As it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him, and still concealed his intentions. In the spring he set out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre, and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes, to the province of Asia. There he learned of the doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundusium. His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships, and escorted by some of the optimates of his party, by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and others, who, being attracted by Antony's capacity for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance

Antony's wife and mother join him at Athens

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Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο χάριν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ γιγνώσκειν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀποτίσειν ἐν χρόνῳ, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν πολεμοίη Καίσαρι, χρήσεσθαι Πομπηίῳ συμμάχῳ, εἰ δ᾽ ἐμμένοι τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡμολογημένοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, πειράσεσθαι καὶ Πομπηίον Καίσαρι συναλλάξαι.

53 Ὁ μὲν ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανιὼν ᾔσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας διαπεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβὲς ἄρα οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐξώτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς κατάγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπήιον, ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰ χωρία ἔχουσιν· ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπήιον οἱ πλέονες τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσματος ὄντος, οὐδ᾽ ὣς οἱ κληροῦχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐστράτευον· οὕτως ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγώγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀντωνίου μὲν καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Ἀηνοβάρβου κατὰ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν ὑπεροίσειν ἐνόμιζεν (ἦρχε γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων), ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχων οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαν ὠρρώδει, ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐχόντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπλέοντες ἐς λιμὸν περιενέγκαιεν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἐλέλεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον) ἐπέστελλε Μαικήνᾳ συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνίᾳ, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν᾽ ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι

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between them against Octavian. Antony replied that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother and that he would requite him for the service in due time; that if there should be a war with Octavian he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if Octavian should adhere to their agreements he would endeavour to reconcile him with Pompeius.

Octavian begins to suspect Antony

53. Such was his answer, and when Octavian returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, so popular had he become by the reputation he had gained at Philippi. Octavian considered himself likely to be far superior to Antony, Pompeius, and Ahenobarbus in the number of troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had not one ship and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while proposals had been made to him about many girls in marriage, he wrote to Maecenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavian without hesitation.

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προθύμως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ στρατῶν ὅσους ὑπώπτευε, διέπεμπεν ἐπὶ προφάσεων ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ Λέπιδον ἐς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἄγοντα τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἕξ.

54. Λεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπῄνει μὲν ἐς φιλαδελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενηκὼς ἴδιον τὸ ἁμάρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὠνείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχαριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτου τυχὼν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν ὁμολογοίη περὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. "ἐγὼ δέ σοι πιστεύων," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά τε ἔθνη τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μὴ ἄναρχος εἴη, διὰ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων διῴκουν Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκεῖνά τε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦμαι καὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπιέναι θέλοντι συγχωρῶ μετὰ ἀδείας." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, εἴτε πειρώμενος τοῦ Λευκίου, εἴτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐθέλων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ὁ δὲ οἷα καὶ πρότερον εἶπε· "Φουλβίας μὲν ᾐσθόμην οὔσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἁπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λαθὼν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγωνιούμενος αὖθις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἤδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ' ἐπιλέγοιτο κακεῖνος καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχήσοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σὲ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος

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Then Octavian, on various pretexts, sent away to this place and that, such of Antony's friends and soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with him the six of Antony's legions who were most under suspicion.

He converses on the subject with Lucius

54. Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude, if, after meeting such a favour from himself, he should now refuse to make confession concerning Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony, so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will allow you to do so fearlessly." He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, "I knew that Fulvia was in favour of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I will go to join him, either openly or secretly, and will fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. But if he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you, too, are not trying to establish a monarchy. For I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family."

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καὶ γένους." ὧδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἄγων οὐκ ἔφη μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύσειν δὲ ὡς τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατηγούντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδουκαίου τε καὶ Λευκίου.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέπεμπε σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφύλασσεν ἀφανῶς· 55. Ἀντώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ, ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀπαντᾶν αὐτῷ ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντά τισιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμφθείσαις σπονδαῖς εἶναι βέβαιον (ἦν γὰρ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμμένων ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι πεπολεμηκότων), ὅμως ἔπλει, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπιβὰς ταῖς ἀρίσταις, ἵνα φαίνοιτο πιστεύων, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας. καθορωμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου παντί τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ' ὀξείας εἰρεσίας προσπλέοντος, ἔδεισεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρεστὼς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸν ἠξίου τὸν πλοῦν καὶ προπέμψαι τινὰς ἐς πεῖραν ὡς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν αἱρεῖσθαι παρασπονδούμενος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σῴζεσθαι δειλὸς ὀφθείς,

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So spake Lucius. Octavian, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perusia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would entrust to Lucius, because he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, with Peducaeus and Lucius, who now commanded it, as his lieutenants.[1]

Thus Octavian dismissed Lucius with honour, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants. 55. Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyon, and set sail from Corcyra into the Adriatic with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust even to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Caesar's murderers, and after the condemnation had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavian in the campaign of Philippi. Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and con-

Antony sets sail for Italy

Meets Ahenobarbus in the Adriatic

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[1] Perhaps Lucius Carinas.

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ἔπλει. πλησίον τε ἦσαν ἀλλήλων ἤδη, καὶ αἱ ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλαις προσέπλεον· καὶ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ὁ ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν πρῷραν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἑστώς, εἴτ' ἐκλαθόμενος, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ στρατοῦ κἀκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἰδίου προσπλέοι, εἴτε ἀπὸ εὐγενεστέρου φρονήματος, ὡς ὑπηκόοις ἢ ἐλάσσοσιν ἀνδράσιν ὑπαντῶσι, προσέταξε καθελεῖν τὸ σημεῖον. οἱ δὲ καθῄρουν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεὼς περιέστρεφον. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόνα προσεῖπεν, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρει μόλις, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόεντα κατέπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξίστατο Ἀντωνίῳ.

56. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου διέπλεον, φυλασσομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ Βρεντέσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, Ἀηνοβάρβῳ μὲν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμίῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὡς πολέμιον ἐπάγοντι. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τάδε καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀποκλείεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γνώμῃ Καίσαρος, διετάφρευε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις χερρόνησος ἐν μηνοειδεῖ λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἐξ ἠπείρου προσελθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατετμημένῳ τε καὶ διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα μέγαν ὄντα φρουρίοις πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔς τε τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας περιέπεμπεν, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ εὔκαιρα

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tinued his course. Now they were drawing near, and the vessels which bore the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first lictor, who stood in the bows as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he too was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Paloeis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony.

Antony arrives at Brundusium and lays siege to it

56. From thence they sailed to Brundusium, which was garrisoned by five cohorts of Octavian's troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant, and considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavian's garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbour, and the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbour, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize

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καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὅ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρσι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδὼ Καίσαρος οὖσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσπασε τὴν συμφροσύνην Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέντας. τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Σιποῦντα μὲν τῆς Αὐσονίας οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατέλαβον, Θουρίους δὲ καὶ Κωνσεντίαν Πομπήιος ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν.

57. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὀξείας καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τὴν Αὐσονίδα ἔπεμπεν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἦγεν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἑπομένους ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλανθάνοντες. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν Καίσαρα. ὁδεύων δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς κληρούχοις αὖθις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνῳκισμένους ἦγεν, αἰδουμένους καὶ γνώμην ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιουμένους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καίσαρα συναλλάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπειθῶν πολεμοίη, Καίσαρι ἀμύνειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν μὲν Κανυσίῳ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο, παντὶ δὲ ὢν ἔτι κρείσσων Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, εὗρε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀποτετειχισμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ παρεστρατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ἐφήδρευεν.

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the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius also to move against Italy with his fleet and do whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity, despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which belonged to Octavian, and two legions in it, who were panic-stricken at this agreement between Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia. Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged their territory with his cavalry.

Octavian marches thither

57. Octavian, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succour the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what was happening was at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavian was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundusium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavian into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavian. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundusium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it and await events.

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58. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ὡς πολὺ μείονας ἔχων ἀσφαλῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέχναζεν ἑσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι ναῦς μακράς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἰδιωτικοῦ πλήθους, οἳ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλοι μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλεον ὡπλισμένοι καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιόντες, ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἤδη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν ἔμελλε τοῖς Βρεντεσίοις, ἀχθομένου τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν. περὶ δὲ ἑσπέραν ἑκατέροις ἀγγέλλεται Σιποῦντα μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβών, Πομπήιος δὲ Θουρίων μὲν ἀπεωσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέραινεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Σερουίλιος ἀπηγγέλθη προσιὼν τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων, οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, μεθ' ὧν εὗρεν ἑτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἱππέων τετρακοσίων, μάλα θρασέως ἐπειχθεὶς ἐπέπεσε τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εὐναζομένοις ἔτι περὶ πόλιν Ὑρίαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβέ τε καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπανήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.

59. Αἵ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαζον τῷ χάρακι τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευμένους σφίσιν ὠνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσοντες ἥκοιεν Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς περισώσαντι ἐν Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντεπικαλούντων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ἥκουσι πολεμήσοντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων

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Antony sends to Macedonia to bring his army

58. Antony was enabled by means of his entrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers, and he summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, who returned, in batches, the next day, in sight of Octavian, fully armed, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundusians, to the great chagrin of Octavian, since he was not able to defend them. But toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of Octavian with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Hyria, threw them into a panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to Brundusium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as invincible still inspire terror.

The soldiers of the two armies fraternize

59. Antony's praetorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavian in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves,

CAP. VI ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλοις προύφερον, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτείχισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς Αὐσονίδος καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸ συνθέσθαι μὲν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ σφαγεῖ Γαΐου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῷ πολεμίῳ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀνεκάλυπτον, ὅτι Καίσαρι συνέλθοιεν οὐκ ἀμνημονοῦντες Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς ἐπινοοῦντες ἀμφοτέροις ἢ Ἀντώνιον ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμυνούμενοι. καὶ τάδε καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπελάζοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου χαρακώμασι προύλεγον.

Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται Φουλβία τεθνεῶσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου μέμψεσιν ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐμπεσεῖν, νομιζομένη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον ἑκοῦσα ἐπιτρῖψαι διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου· νοσοῦσάν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπολείπων ἑωράκει. ἐδόκει δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐς πολλὰ συνοίσειν ὁ θάνατος, γυναίου φιλοπράγμονος ἀπηλλαγμένοις, ἣ διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας ζῆλον ἐξερρίπισε τοσόνδε πόλεμον. τό γε μὴν πάθος ἀσθενῶς ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἡγούμενός τι καὶ αἴτιος γεγονέναι.

VII

CAP. VII 60. Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήιος ἑκατέρῳ φίλος καὶ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐς Φοινίκην τοῦ προτέρου θέρους

they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundusium had been closed against him and that Calenus' troops had been taken from him, the others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundusium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Caesar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavian's men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavian, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavian against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works. CHAP. VI

Death of Fulvia

While these events were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick, and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it.

VII

60. There was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with CHAP. VII

πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καικίνα, ἐπανιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καικίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κατέμενεν. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκκήιος, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθείς, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρος ἀσπασόμενος αὐτόν. συγχωροῦντος δ' ἀπιέναι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πειρώμενος ἤρετο, εἴ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκομισμένος δι' αὐτοῦ Κοκκηίου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος "νῦν μέν," ἔφη, "τί ἂν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν, ὄντες ἐχθροί, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους; ἀντέγραψα δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ Καικίνα· καὶ εἰ βούλει, λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεχλεύασεν, ὁ δὲ Κοκκήιος οὐκ εἴα πω τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρόν, ἔς τε Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε γεγενημένον. ὁ δέ "ἐκ Βρεντεσίου με," φησίν, "ἀποκλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν Καληνοῦ στρατὸν ἀφαιρούμενος ἔτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐστὶν εὔνους μόνοις· οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐμοὶ περισῴζειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐχθροποιεῖν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος, ἃ μὲν ἐπεμέμφετο μαθών, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔτι ὀξυτέραν φύσιν ἐπερεθίσας, ᾤχετο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

61. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μὴ θᾶσσον ἔλθοι· "οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀδελφόν, ἵν' ἐχθρὸς ᾖς μοι, περιέσωσα." ὁ δέ "πῶς," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιῇ, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐχθροὺς ἀποκαλεῖς τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφαιρῇ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη;" καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ "οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐχρῆν

Cocceius attempts to mediate

Caecina, by Octavian, the previous summer, to Antony in Phoenicia, and had remained with Antony after Caecina returned. This Cocceius, seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been sent for by Octavian for the purpose of a friendly greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked, by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony would like to write any letter to Octavian making use of himself as his messenger. Antony replied: "What can we write to each other, now that we are enemies, except mutual recrimination? I wrote letters in reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the hand of Caecina. Take copies of those if you like." This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not yet allow him to call Octavian an enemy after his generous behaviour towards Lucius and Antony's other friends. But Antony replied: "He has shut me out of Brundusium and taken my provinces and the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly, but to make them enemies to me by his benefactions." Cocceius, after hearing these complaints, did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to Octavian.

He has an interview with Octavian

61. When Octavian saw him he expressed astonishment that he had not come sooner. "I did not save your brother," he exclaimed, "in order that you should be my enemy."[1] Cocceius replied, "How is it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call your friends enemies and take from them their armies and provinces?" "It was not fitting," replied Octavian, "that after the death of Calenus

[1] The brother was M. Cocceius Nerva, Antony's proquaestor.

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ἐπὶ μειρακίῳ τῷ Καληνοῦ παιδὶ γενέσθαι τοσαύτας ἀφορμάς, ἀπόντος ἔτι Ἀντωνίου· αἷς καὶ Λεύκιος ἐπαρθεὶς ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἀσίνιος καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος γειτονεύοντες ἐχρῶντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον, ἵνα μὴ οἴχοιτο πρὸς Πομπήιον· οἱ γοῦν ἱππέες αὐτῶν διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος "ἑτέρως," ἔφη, "τάδε λογοποιούμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευεν, ἕως ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καθάπερ πολέμιος." καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ τοῦδε προστάξαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ' ἀφικέσθαι μετὰ πολεμίων προσδοκῆσαι), Βρεντεσίους δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ὑπολελειμμένον αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς Ἀηνοβάρβου καταδρομὰς ταξίαρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, συνθέμενον μὲν ἐχθρῷ κοινῷ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον φονέα τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμένον καὶ πολιορκήσαντα μὲν τὸ Βρεντέσιον μετὰ Φιλίππους, πολιορκοῦντα δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ, ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεηλατήσαντα.

62. Ὁ δέ "σπένδεσθαι μέν," ἔφη, "συνεχωρήσατε ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε· καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπείσατο, οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἢ αὐτὸς σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν. Ἀηνόβαρβος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἡ δὲ ψῆφος αὐτῷ κατ' ὀργὴν ἐπῆκται· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς

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such large resources should be left in the hands of such a stripling as Calenus' son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry has actually gone to Sicily." "These matters have been told differently," said Cocceius: "but even Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundusium as an enemy." "I gave no order on that subject," replied Octavian, "for I did not know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundusians themselves and the praefect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father's murderers, who had been condemned by vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundusium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy."

He argues for Antony's rectitude

62. "But it was agreed between you," said Cocceius, "that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honour than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers, but the vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those

CAP. VII βουλῆς πω τότε μετεῖχεν. εἰ δ' ὡς φίλῳ Βρούτου μὴ συγγνῶναι νομίζοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασι χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπηίῳ δὲ οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσειν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολεμούμενος δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ καὶ σοὶ συναλλάξειν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον εἰργασμένον. σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχεις· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐθάρρουν." καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλῶν "τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν," ἔφη, "κἀμὲ σὺν αὐτῇ, Μάνιος καὶ Φουλβία καὶ Λεύκιος ἐπολέμουν· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν ἐπιβέβηκε τῆς παραλίου." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος "οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου πεμφθείς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμεῖται ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς." ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ (οὐ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἤκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος) ἐπισχὼν ὀλίγον εἶπεν· "ἀλλ' οὐ χαιρήσει Πομπήιος, κακὸς κακῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἐξελαθείς." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος τὰ ἀμφίλογα πάντα κατιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θάνατον καὶ τρόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου δυσχεράνασά τε νοσήσειε καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρίψειεν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἰδόντος αὐτὴν οὐδὲ νοσοῦσαν Ἀντωνίου, ὡς αἴτιον τῇ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενόμενον· ἐκποδὼν δὲ κἀκείνης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν ἐνδεῖν ἔτι ἔφη "πρὸς ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἀληθεῦσαι, περὶ ὧν ὑπενοήσατε."

CHAP. VII days. If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius, not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since even he has done nothing which should make him irreconcilable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony." Octavian repeated his accusations, saying, "Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony." Cocceius replied, "Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you two agree to peace." Octavian, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, "But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves." Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her even when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife's death. "Now that she is dead," he continued, "it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are."

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63. Οὕτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Κοκκήιος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξενίζετο παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεῖτο ἐπιστεῖλαί τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, νεώτερον ὄντα πρεσβυτέρῳ. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἔτι οὐκ ἔφη γράψειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον· μέμψεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγγενὴς οὖσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα ἐκ πάντων ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, φύγοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καθάπερ οὐ τευξομένη πάντων ὡς παρ' υἱοῦ. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέχναζε καὶ ἐπέστελλε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. ἐξιόντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Κοκκηίῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἐξέφερον τοῦ στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδείη πολεμήσοντας οὐ συντιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήιον μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐξ ὧν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, Ἀηνόβαρβον δέ ποι πέμπειν, ἕως αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοιντο. παρακαλούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τὸν Ἀντώνιον (γένει γὰρ ἦν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουλίων), ᾐσχύνετο Ἀντώνιος, εἰ μὴ γενομένων τῶν συμβάσεων τὸν Πομπήιον αὖθις ἐς συμμαχίαν καλοίη. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἀπελπιζούσης αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Κοκκηίου ἰσχυριζομένου τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπιζομένου τι πλέον εἰδέναι, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδίδου καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενος τῶν συγκειμένων, καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἔπεμπεν ἡγεῖσθαι Βιθυνίας.

64. Ὧν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανό-

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Octavian writes to Antony's mother

63. In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavian and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavian said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony's mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honour by Octavian, she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his device also for opening a correspondence by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until the treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian clan. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

64. When Octavian's soldiers learned these facts

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μενοι πρέσβεις εἵλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἳ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐ κρῖναι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ᾑρημένοι, σφίσι δ᾽ αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα καὶ Μαικήναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνηστίαν εἶναι τῶν γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεῶτος, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρος εἶχεν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐδικαίουν οἱ διαλλακταὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἠσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίαι πρὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἄπαυστοι δι᾽ ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

65. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὖθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἅπασαν, ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰονίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ᾽ ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἕως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καίσαρα μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν, καθὰ Καῖσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μή τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. Ἀηνοβάρβῳ δ᾽ εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως ἴσον ἑκάτερον.

Αἵδε μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τελευταῖαι Καίσαρί τε καὶ

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they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as a friend of both, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Maecenas from that of Octavian. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavian for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavian's sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavian embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

Octavian and Antony reconciled

65. Now Octavian and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf. All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavian. Lepidus was to govern Africa, inasmuch as Octavian had given it to him. Octavian was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavian was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers.

They make a fresh partition of the empire

These were the last conditions of peace between

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'Αντωνίῳ γενόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπεν, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν 'Ασίαν 'Αντώνιος. ἀναστέλλειν Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Λαβιηνὸν τὸν Λαβιηνοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἀσχολίαις Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς 'Ιωνίας ἐπιδραμόντα.

"Α μὲν δὴ Λαβιηνός τε καὶ Παρθυαῖοι δράσαντες ἔπαθον, ἡ Παρθυικὴ δηλώσει γραφή· 66. "Ελενον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὁρμῇ κατασχόντα Σαρδοῦς, αὖθις ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπηίου, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα χαλεπαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς πείρας 'Αντωνίου συνάγοντος αὐτῷ Πομπήιον. ἐς δὲ 'Ρώμην παρελθόντες ἐτέλουν τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ 'Αντώνιος Μάνιον μὲν ἔκτεινεν ὡς ἐρεθίσαντά τε Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶνδε αἴτιον γενόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηνε Σαλουιδιηνόν, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ 'Ροδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἰδίᾳ βουλεῦσαι καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦδε προσπέμψαι περικαθημένῳ τὸ Βρεντέσιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τόδε ἐξεῖπεν οὐ πρὸς πάντων ἐπαινούμενον, εὐφυὴς ὢν ἄρα καὶ ταχὺς ἐς εὔνοιαν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς ἐπὶ δή τι μόνου χρῄζων καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψων αὖθις ἐς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐλθόντα ἔκτεινε διελέγξας καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ὡς ὕποπτον ὄντα ἔχειν ἔδωκεν 'Αντωνίῳ.

CHAP. VII

Octavian and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles.

Antony marries Octavia

What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history; 66. but in the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavian, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavian was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony's endeavours to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavian the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavian's army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundusium. This secret Antony revealed not with universal approbation, but because of his real frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavian instantly summoned Salvidienus to Rome pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavian confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.

VIII

CAP. VIII

67. Ῥωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῶν ἑῴων ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον ἐχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς περαίας Λιβύης διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦντας. ἐπετίμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ' ὥς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἠξίου ταχύνειν γε τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων προυτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὡρισμένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐσφέρειν δὲ καὶ μοῖραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τι καρπουμένους. τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα σὺν ὁρμῇ μανιώδει καθεῖλεν ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα κεκενωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δημεύσεσι καταβαρήσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους οὐδ' ἐς ἐπίκτητον ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶνδε πανώδυνον γεγονέναι, ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύοιεν αὐτούς.

Συνιστάμενοί τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὐ συνισταμένους ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠπείλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ καταπρήσειν, 68. ἕως τὸ μὲν

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Sextus Pompeius cuts off the corn supply of Rome

67. Now famine fell upon Rome, since the merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile fleets, which infested both shores. Thus there was a great rise in cost of provisions, and the people considered the cause of it to be the strife between the chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to make peace with Pompeius. As Octavian would by no means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war on account of the scarcity. As there was no money for this purpose, an edict was published that the owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius, and that those who acquired property by legacies should contribute a share thereof. The people tore down the edict with fury. They were exasperated that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war, not for extending the empire, but for private enmities and to add to their own power (for which reason the proscriptions and murders and this terrible famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive them of the remainder of their property.

Riot in the forum

They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned those who did not join them, and threatened to plunder and burn their houses, 68. until the whole

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πλῆθος ἅπαν ἠρέθιστο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὀλίγοις ὑπασπισταῖς ἐς μέσους ἦλθεν, ἐντυχεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν μέμψιν ἐκλογίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὀφθέντα ἔβαλλόν τε ἀφειδῶς πάνυ καὶ οὐδ' ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμπαρέχοντα καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ᾐδοῦντο. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον μὲν ὡς ἕτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομπηίου διαλύσεις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον· καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον, τότε ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὁπλίτας πλέονας, οἳ ἦσαν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὐ παριέντων οὐδ' ὣς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν ὁπλῖται διαιρεθέντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπεχείρουν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνῄρουν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εὐμαρῶς οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ διαδρομὴν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἦν καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν οἰμωγαὶ καὶ βοαί. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος μόλις τε παρῆλθε, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν Καίσαρα περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. διαφυγόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ πλήθους τὰ νεκρά, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοίη θεωρούμενα, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερριπτεῖτο· καὶ ἕτερον πένθος ἦν ὁρωμένων ἀνὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα, καὶ περιδυόντων αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν κακοῦργοι τὰ εὐσχήμονα μάλιστα ὡς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαύετο σὺν

CHAP. VIII

Octavian stoned by the mob and rescued by Antony

populace was aroused, and Octavian with his friends and a few attendants came into the forum intending to intercede with the people and to show the unreasonableness of their complaints. As soon as he made his appearance they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleeding from wounds. When Antony learned what was going on he came with haste to his assistance. When the people saw him coming down the Via Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was in favour of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told him to go away. When he refused to do so they stoned him also. He called in a larger force of troops, who were outside the walls. As the people would not allow him even so to pass through, the soldiers divided right and left on either side of the street and the forum, and made their attack from the narrow lane, striking down those whom they met. The people could no longer find ready escape on account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the housetops. Antony made his way into the forum with difficulty, and snatched Octavian from the most manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought him safe to his house. The mob having been dispersed, the corpses were thrown into the river in order to avoid their gruesome appearance. It was a fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and certain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off the clothing of the better class as their own property.

CAP. VIII φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἤκμαζε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔστενε καὶ ἡσύχαζεν.

69. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους Λίβωνα καλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνησθήσει τοῦ κήδους, ἐργασόμενόν τι καὶ μεῖζον· τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς τῷ Λίβωνι ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστελλον, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχώρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λίβων ἐς νῆσον ὡρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἣ νῦν ἐστιν Αἰναρία. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὖθις ἠθροίζετο καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν, πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων ἔπεμπεν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου, καταπρήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσεις. Λίβων μὲν δὴ συνεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἠξίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδώσοντας, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ· βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου, ἐξῄεσαν ἐς Βαΐας ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

70. Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἔπειθον ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδωρος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐπέστελλεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ βραδύνειν ἔτι, ὡς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβάσεων, εἰ καραδοκοίη, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων· Μοῦρκόν τε τούτοις ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περικτώμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μοῦρκον διά τε ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην

This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror and hatred for the triumvirs; the famine grew worse; the people groaned, but did not stir. CHAP. VIII

B.C. 39

Negotiations with Sextus Pompeius

69. Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that they should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law,[1] and to accomplish something more important; and he himself promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called Aenaria.[2] When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavian with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also, threatening to burn Mucia, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, sent her to communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavian and Antony went to Baiae.

70. All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except Menodorus, who wrote to him from Sardinia either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. Menodorus also advised him to distrust Murcus, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with

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[1] The text is doubtful.

[2] The modern Ischia.

CAP. VIII

ἐγκρατῆ βαρυνόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶνδε ἀπερρίπτει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὅ τι Μούρκῳ προσεῖχεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ἐς Συρακούσας ὑπεχώρει καί τινας ἰδὼν φύλακας ἑπομένους ἐκ Πομπηίου, φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐλοιδόρει. ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχον καὶ λοχαγὸν αὐτοῦ Μούρκου διαφθείρας ἔπεμψεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεραπόντων ἀνῃρῆσθαι· ἔς τε πίστιν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τοὺς θεράποντας ἐσταύρου. οὐ μὴν ἐλάνθανε δεύτερον ἐπὶ Βιθυνικῷ τόδε μύσος ἐργασάμενος, περὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἐγκρατῆ φίλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Πομπήιον εὐεργέτην τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενον καὶ ἑκόντα ἐλθόντα ἐς Σικελίαν.

71. Μοῦρκος μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπειγόντων καὶ τὸν Μηνόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχοι στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Αἰναρίαν διέπλει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς ἀρίσταις, ἑξήρους λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβεβηκώς. καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν μὲν οὕτω σοβαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ ἑσπέραν, ἐφορώντων τῶν πολεμίων· ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ, καταπηχθέντων σταυρῶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σανίδες τοῖς σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν καταστρωμάτων ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ γῇ πεποιημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Λίβων ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον, ὀλίγου ῥεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργοντος

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Murcus lately on account of his high position and his stubbornness, became still more averse to him for this reason, and held no communication with him whatever, until, finally, Murcus retired in disgust to Syracuse. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards following him, and he expressed his opinion of Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed a tribune and a centurion of Murcus, and sent them to kill him and to say that he had been murdered by slaves. To give credibility to this falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not succeed in concealing this crime,—the next one committed by him after the murder of Bithynicus,—Murcus having been a man distinguished for his warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to that party from the beginning, and had rendered great assistance to Pompeius himself in Spain, and had joined him in Sicily voluntarily.

Sextus puts Murcus to death

71. Such was the death of Murcus. His other friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as opposing peace not so much from good-will to his master as from a desire to command an army and a province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Aenaria with a large number of his best ships, having embarked himself on a magnificent one with six banks of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore Octavian and Antony took their places, while Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a small space of water separating them, so that they

Sextus goes to Puteoli and has a conference with Antony and Octavian

μὴ κεκραγότας ἀλλήλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥκειν ᾤετο ἀντὶ Λεπίδου, οἱ δὲ ὡς κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσοντες μόνην, τότε μὲν ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπαὶ δὲ συχναὶ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἑκατέρων προκλήσεσιν. ᾔτει δ᾽ ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν προγεγραμμένων τε καὶ οἷ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις Γαΐου Καίσαρος φυγὴν ἄδολον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἔντιμον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς συμβάσεις ὑπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐς τὸ τέταρτον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ὡς ὠνησόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων· καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀγαπήσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἤδη διὰ τὸ Μούρκου μύσος· καὶ προσιόντες τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι παρεκάλουν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήξατο ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς καὶ τῶνδε προδιδόντων αὐτόν, ὧν προμάχεται, καὶ θαμινὰ τὸν Μηνόδωρον ὡς στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὔνουν ἀνεκάλει.

72. Μουκίας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς γυναικὸς ἐναγουσῶν, αὖθις οἱ τρεῖς συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον Δικαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορμουσῶν τῶν φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· λελύσθαι μὲν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ

could hear each other without shouting. As Pompeius thought that he had come in order to be admitted to a share of the government in place of Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for the time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued on the part of friends, who advanced various proposals from one side to the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the proscripts and the men with him, those who had participated in the murder of Gaius Caesar should be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest restoration to their homes and citizenship, and that the property they had lost should be restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by the people to an agreement, Octavian and Antony reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, promising to buy it from the present holders. They wrote to this effect to the proscripts themselves, hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the terms, for they already had apprehensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against Murcus. So they gathered around Pompeius and besought him to come to an agreement. Then Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he was betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as one most competent to command and his only friend.

72. Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavian, Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, and with ships moored round it as guards. Here they came to an agreement on the following terms:

CAP. VIII

κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἀκωλύτους εἶναι πανταχοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσί, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας ὑποδέχεσθαι μηδ' ἐφορμεῖν ναυσὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν δὲ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Κύρνου καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νήσων, ἐς ὅσον ἄρχοιεν τῶν ἑτέρων Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, πέμποντα Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον αὐταῖς φέρειν σῖτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ ταύταις, ὑπατεῦσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δι' ὅτου κρίνοι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱερωσύνης ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἶναι Πομπηίῳ, κάθοδον δὲ τοῖς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται· καὶ τῆς περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβον ἔφευγον καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλώλει, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρὶς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προγεγραμμένοις μοῖραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ.

73. Ἐς ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο καὶ ἐσημήναντο καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις φυλάσσειν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐξένιζον δ' ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες,

CHAP. VIII

They come to an agreement

That the war between them should cease at once both on land and sea, and that commerce should be everywhere unmolested; that Pompeius should remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford a refuge to fugitive slaves; that he should not blockade with his fleet the Italian coast, but should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and Octavian should hold sway over the other countries; that he should send to Rome the corn that had been long since required as tribute from those islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus in addition: that he might hold the consulship in his absence through any friend he might choose, and be inscribed as a member of the Augurs' College. Such were the conditions accorded to Pompeius himself; while the nobles who were still in exile were allowed to return, except those who had been condemned by vote of the Senate and judgment of the court for participation in the murder of Gaius Caesar. The property of the rest, who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods had been seized by violence, was all to be restored except movables, but proscripts were to receive a fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in the army of Pompeius were to be free, and free persons who had thus served should, upon their discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had served under Octavian and Antony.

73. Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony.

CAP. VIII

πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἑξήρους Πομπήιος περιωρμισμένης ἐς τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἑξῆς Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, σκηνοποιησάμενοι καὶ οἵδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ἑστιῷντο, τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὧς εἶχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αἵ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς παρώρμουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιειστήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς εἶχον ὑπεζωσμένα ξιφίδια. λέγεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἑστιωμένων ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμψαι Πομπηίῳ, προτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἁμαρτίας, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν δι' ὀξυτάτης ἀφορμῆς· ἐπιμελήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὧν μηδένα διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἅμα καὶ τῆς χρείας ἀξίως· "εἴθε Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσασθαι ταῦτα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ·" Μηνοδώρῳ γὰρ ἁρμόζειν ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐ Πομπηίῳ. ἥρμοσαν δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ δείπνῳ τὴν Πομπηίου θυγατέρα, Λίβωνος οὖσαν θυγατριδῆν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίου, ἀδελφιδῷ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα πρώτους, ἀντικαθιστάντος ὅμως Ἀντωνίου, ὃν ἂν βούλοιτο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπήιον, εἶτα Ἀηνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἶτ' αὖθις Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπιζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

CHAP. VIII

Banquets on board ship and on shore

The first banquet took place on Pompeius' six-banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On succeeding days Antony and Octavian gave banquets, they too on the mole, in tents, on the pretext that thus all might participate, but perhaps really for their better security and to quiet apprehensions; for they did not even then neglect precautions. Their ships were moored alongside and guards were stationed around them, and the banqueters were girded with concealed daggers. It is said that, while the three were feasting in the ship, Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs of his father and his brother, and to avail himself of this most favourable occasion to resume the sway that his father had exercised, saying that he, with his own ships, would take care that nobody should escape; but that Pompeius replied, in a manner worthy of his family and his position, "Would that Menodorus had done this without my knowledge." False swearing, that is, might suit Menodorus, but not Pompeius. At this banquet the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of Antony and nephew of Octavian. On the following day they designated the consuls for the next four years, for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked in his own place; next Octavian and Pompeius; next Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and, finally, Antony and Octavian again; and as they would then have been consuls the third time it was expected that they would then restore the government to the people.

CAP. VIII

74. Τάδε μὲν ἔπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὥδευον ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἥ τε πόλις καὶ ἡ Ἰταλία, ἐπαιάνιζον αὐτίκα ἅπαντες ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ, πολέμου τε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπιχωρίου καὶ ξεναγήσεως υἱῶν καὶ φρουρῶν ὕβρεως καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτομολίας καὶ λεηλασίας πεδίων καὶ γεωργίας ἀργίας, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πιέσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὥστε παροδεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οἷα σωτῆρσιν ἐγίγνοντο θυσίαι· καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός, ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν, ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθόντες. μόνοι δὲ ἤχθοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἐλευσομένων σὺν Πομπηίῳ χωρία κεκληρουχήκεσαν, ἡγούμεναι σφίσι τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἐχθροὺς παροικήσειν καί, εἴ ποτε δυνηθεῖεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φυγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ἑτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἦν ἡδονὴ καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὕτως ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένων.

75. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐξώρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἔπραξέ τε καὶ πράξει, αὖθις στρατηγοὺς πανταχῇ περιέπεμπε καὶ τἆλλα ὡς ἐπενόει πάντα διεκόσμει. ἵστη δέ πῃ καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ

CHAP. VIII

Great rejoicing at Rome

74. Having finished this business they separated, Pompeius going to Sicily by sea, Octavian and Antony to Rome by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. So, as the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honour as to saviours. The city would have given them a magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only people disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death.

Antony returns to the East

75. After these events Octavian set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a

CAP. VIII φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρῴδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. τὸν δὲ στρατόν, ὅσος ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ συγχειμάσειν, περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμνάσαι, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνοὺς ἔπεμπεν, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπιδάμνῳ πάροικον, προθυμοτάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ Δαρδανέας, ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν γένος, αἰεὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπιτρέχοντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ μένειν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς ἂν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας ἔχῃ, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις χειμάσειν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐς Λιβύην, τὰ ὑπὸ Σεξστίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄξοντα ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους· οὐ γάρ πω πέπυστο αὐτὰ Λέπιδον ἀφῃρῆσθαι Σεξστίου.

76. Ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελλόμενα ἐφορῶν μόνα, ἀφέλειαν δὲ ἰδιωτικὴν αὖθις ἐξ ἡγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν καὶ θύρας ἠρεμούσας. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἄνευ σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκολούθοις δύο, ἐς διδασκάλων διατριβὰς ἢ ἀκροάσεις. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ἡ γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμηδίᾳ μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας· πολὺς γὰρ καὶ ἐς τήνδε ἐρρύη, ταχὺς ὢν ἐς ἔρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ἑτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἥ τε ἐσθὴς αὖθις καὶ

prescribed tribute: in Pontus, Darius, the son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates: in Idumea and Samaria, Herod: in Pisidia, Amyntas; in a part of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much attached to Brutus; others against the Dardani, another Illyrian tribe, who were for ever making incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all round him, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He sent Furnius to Africa to bring four legions, that were under the command of Sextius, for service against the Parthians. He did not know as yet that Lepidus had deprived Sextius of the command of these troops. CHAP. VIII

He winters at Athens

76. Having made these dispositions, he spent the winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports sent from the army, exchanging the display of a commander for the simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and with no crowd at his doors. He went out, in like manner, without the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of the public teachers. He took his meals in the Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, with whom he was very much in love, being by nature excessively fond of women. At the end of the winter he was like another man. He changed B.C 39

CAP. VIII μετὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡ ὄψις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ δορυφόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως· πρεσβεῖαί τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἳ τέως ἠρέμουν κεκελευσμέναι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρίνοντο, καὶ νῆες καθείλκοντο, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.

IX

CAP. IX 77. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαί, κατὰ μὲν αἰτίας, ὡς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἑτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἵδε ἦσαν. Πελοπόννησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ, κελεύων, ὅσα ἔτι ὤφειλον αὐτῷ Πελοποννήσιοι δόντα ἢ αὐτον ἀναδεξάμενον ἀποδώσειν παραλαβεῖν ἢ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν χώραν, ἡγούμενος αὑτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὀφλήμασι δεδόσθαι· χαλεπαίνων δέ, ὡς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεγεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπιστον εἴθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν ἑτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἐχόντων εἴτε Μηνοδώρου διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίους σπονδὰς εἶναι νομίζειν, ναῦς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐρέτας συνέλεγε καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε χρῆναι παντὸς οὕνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. λῃστήριά τε αὖθις ἀφανῆ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠνώχλει, καὶ μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ἄκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγένητο Ῥωμαίοις,

his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion. CHAP. VIII

IX

77. WHILE Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing between Octavian and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavian, which were the following: Antony had ceded the Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that Pompeius should wait till the collection had been made. But Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavian said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Mysterious robbery again infested the sea; and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who CHAP. IX Peace broken between Sextus and Octavian

CAP. IX ὥστε ἐβόων οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίληψιν τετάρτου τυράννου κατὰ σπονδὰς γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσάρ τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν, οἳ Πομπήιον σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιπέμψαι· καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ δήμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐξελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοποννήσου χάριν.

78. Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πειθόμενον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις, διέφθειραν ἐνίους τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἴτε ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καίσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρῳ, Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνοδώρου δυνάμεως ἑκόντες ἐποίουν. καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, πρὸς τὸν Μηνόδωρον διέπλευσε σίτου κομιδῆς οὕνεκα καὶ Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἐγχειριεῖν Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν πλῆθος ἕτερον. καὶ τόδε ὃν ἔργον εἴτε Φιλαδέλφου εἴτε τῶν ἐς Μηνόδωρον παρὰ Πομπηίου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ εὐθὺς μέν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὅμως, ἡγούμενος ἔργῳ τὴν εἰρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβουλευσόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ναῦς τε μακρὰς ἐκ Ῥαβέννης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ὀξέως περιέπεμπεν, ὡς ἑκατέρω-

cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to the tyranny. Octavian having caught certain pirates and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius had sent them out, and Octavian proclaimed this to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter complaint respecting the Peloponnesus. CHAP. IX

78. Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavian, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia. The freedmen, for their part, did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus, and about the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavian, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavian to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Octavian accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundusium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about this war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundusium and Puteoli,

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θεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἢν Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκῇ.

79. Ὁ δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὑρὼν οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἴτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος ὡς παράσπονδον εἴτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν ἰδὼν πολλὴν οὖσαν (οὐ γάρ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυε φόβων ἡ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία), εἴτε τι σημεῖον δειδισάμενος. τῶν γὰρ περικοιμωμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὑρέθη δεδαπανημένος, ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παραλελειμμένου, οὔτε τι βοήσας οὔτε τινὸς τῶν συναναπαυομένων ᾐσθημένου· καὶ λύκον ἔλεγον οἱ Βρεντέσιοι πρὸ ἕω φανῆναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἐκθέοντα. ἔγραφέ γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ λύειν τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ ἠπείλει Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην· γεγένητο γὰρ Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐώνητο νόμῳ πιπρασκομένην ὡς πολεμίου.

80. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνον τοὺς παραληψομένους, ἃ Μηνόδωρος ἐνεχείριζεν, ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, μὴ αὖθις αὐτὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδράμοι. τριήρεις δὲ ἑτέρας ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ προσέτασσε γίγνεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μετεπέμπετο· Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἤγαγε νεῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ Καλουισίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἔτι πλέονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ

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intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if Antony should agree in opinion with him.

Antony returns to Brundusium

79. Antony came at the appointed day with a small escort, but not finding Octavian there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavian's great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundusians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavian not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for he had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war.

Defection of Menodorus

80. Octavian sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed,

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τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περιμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δ' οὖσαν ἤδη παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορνιφίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης μεταγαγεῖν ἐς Τάραντα. Κορνιφικίῳ μὲν δὴ χειμὼν περιπλέοντι ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μόνη τῶν νεῶν ἡ ναυαρχὶς ἡ γενομένη Καίσαρι διεφθάρη· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας ἔτι, ὡς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος ληστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσειε καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ λῃσταὶ κατείποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατείποι δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὴν ὅλην γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

81. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἕτοιμα γεγένητο, ἐπέπλει τῇ Σικελίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλουίσιος δὲ Σαβῖνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· περιῄει δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐταχύνετο ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἐπιπλέοντος ἤδη Καίσαρος ᾔσθετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλουν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τὸν Καίσαρα, Καλουισίῳ δὲ καὶ Μηνοδώρῳ τὸν ἔχθιστον τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἑαυτοῦ Μενεκράτη προσέτασσεν ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ. ὅδε οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν πελάγιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συνέφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύοντο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς Αἰναρίαν παρῆλθεν· ἠοῦς δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν κόλπον ἐν χρῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν

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and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum everything that was now in readiness. While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook him which destroyed only the admiral's ship, which had been built for Octavian himself. This was considered an omen of what was to take place. As the belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of the treaty, Octavian sought to dispel the suspicion. He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to give up the Peloponnesus.

Octavian makes war against Sextus

81. When all things were in readiness he set sail for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while Calvisius Sabinus, and Menodorus sailed from Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the desertion of Menodorus when Octavian was already moving against him. While the hostile fleets were advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of Octavian at Messana, and ordered Menecrates, who of all his freedmen was the bitterest enemy of Menodorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with a large fleet. This Menecrates then was observed by his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They retired into the bay near Cumae, where they passed the night, Menecrates proceeding to Aenaria. At day-break they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to

Sea-fight at Cumae between Menodorus and Menecrates

CAP. XI μηνοειδεῖ στόλῳ παρέπλεον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκπλέοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐπιφαίνεταί τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ τάχους· δρᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἀναγομένους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐγχρίμπτων ἐξεώθει. οἱ δὲ ἐξώκελλόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἀπεμάχοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναχώρησίς τε καὶ ἐφόρμησις, ὅτε βούλοιντο, καὶ σκαφῶν ἑτέρων ἀλλαγὴ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἔκαμνον ἔκ τε τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκινησίας τῶν νεῶν· πεζομαχεῖν γὰρ πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἐῴκεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν ἔχοντες.

82. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωρος καὶ Μενεκράτης καθορῶσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόνον ἀφέντες αὐτίκα μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεον, ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενοι, ἐν ᾧ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσειν ἔμελλεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ ῥύμης ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτριψαν ἡ μὲν τὸν ἔμβολον τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, ἡ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἑκατέρωθεν χεῖρες ἐπεβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔργον ἦν, συνεστηκυίας ἑκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πόνου καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον. ἀκόντιά τε γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καταρράκτας ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἐπιέναι δι' αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας δ' οὔσης τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, οἵ τε καταρράκται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἦσαν εὐεπιβατώτεροι καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βιαιότερα. τεθνεώτων δ' ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων

prevent the enemy breaking through them. Menecrates again showed himself, and immediately came on with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon the land. They beached their ships and fought back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns, while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on which they had grounded, and by the inability to move. They were like land forces contending against sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat. CHAP IX

82. In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates came in sight of each other; and, abandoning the rest of the fight, drove at once against each other with fury and shouting, as though they had staked the issue of the battle on this encounter, whichever should be the victor. Their ships came into violent collision and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grappling-irons were thrown by both, and the ships, being fastened together, could no longer manœuvre, but the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds of valour. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows were discharged, and bridges for boarding were thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges made a better passage-way for those who ventured on them, and his missiles were more effective for the same reason. Many men were already slain, and

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κατατετρωμένων, ὁ μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῷ τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξῃρέθη, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν ἀκοντίῳ πολυγλώχινι Ἰβηρικῷ ὁλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν ἐπείξει. ἀχρεῖος οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐς μάχην γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὥς, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποτρύνων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεὼς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος δυνάμενος.

83. Καὶ τὸ μὲν λαιὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως ἐπεπράχει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Καλουίσιος μέν, διαπλέων ἐς τὸ λαιόν, ἀπετέμετό τινας τῶν Μενεκράτους νεῶν καὶ ἐκφυγούσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε, Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξελεύθερός τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουισίου συμπεσών, τὰς μὲν ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς δὲ ἐς πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλομένων ἐνεπίμπρα τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλουίσιος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανιὼν τάς τε φευγούσας τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας ἐκώλυσε. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ηὐλίσαντο πάντες, ἔνθα καὶ τῆς προτέρας.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ προὖχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολύ· Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενεκράτους ὡς ἐπὶ ἥττῃ μεγίστῃ (δύο γὰρ οἵδε ἦσαν μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θαλάσσης ἐργάται, Μενεκράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος), ἅπαντα μεθεὶς ἐκ χειρῶν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στόλον ὅλον ἀποβαλών.

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Menodorus wounded and Menecrates drowned

the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however, drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted. Although Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he remained there all the same, encouraging the others, until his ship was captured, when he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to do nothing more himself.

83. Thus had fared the left wing of the naval fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right to the left and cut off some of Menecrates' ships from the main body, and when they fled pursued them to the open sea. Demochares, who was a fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' ships, put some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning from the pursuit, led back his own retreating ships and prevented the burning of any more. As night approached all rested in their stations of the previous night.

Octavian's fleet beaten

Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but Demochares, grieving over the death of Menecrates as the greatest possible defeat (for those two, Menecrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of Pompeius' sea-captains) abandoned everything and sailed for Sicily immediately, as though he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole fleet.

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84. Ὁ δὲ Καλουίσιος ἕως μὲν ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Δημοχάρην προσεδόκα, παρέμενεν, ἔνθαπερ ὥρμιστο, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἵ τε γὰρ κράτισται τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ διωλώλεσαν, καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν εἶχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ Πομπήιον περὶ Μεσσήνην κατειλήφει ναῦς ἔχοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνας, ὥστε αὐτῷ παρῄνουν οἱ φίλοι, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Πομπηίῳ μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι ὀλίγας, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκείνῳ ναυτικὸν οὐ πάρεστιν. ὁ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, Καλουίσιον περιμένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ εὔβουλον εἶναι τὸ ῥιψοκίνδυνον, ἔνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλλην προσδοκῴη.

Ὡς δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐς Μεσσήνην κατέπλευσεν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος αὐτόν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ, ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους· 85. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφὶ τῇ Κύμῃ πυθόμενος ἐξέπλει τὸν πορθμόν, ὑπαντήσων τῷ Καλουισίῳ. ἀνύσαντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ πλέον καὶ Στυλίδα ἤδη παραπλέοντι καὶ ἐς τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἐπικάμπτοντι, ἐκθορὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξήπτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ τὰς πρόπλους ἐδίωκε καὶ πάσαις ἐνέβαλλε καὶ ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο. αἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐνοχλούμεναι ἐς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον, Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐῶντος, εἴτε δείσαντος ἐν στενῷ ναυμαχεῖν εἴτ᾽ ἐπιμένοντος οἷς ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς διε-

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84. Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demochares would renew his attack, remained at his station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavian, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messana came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavian's friends advised him to improve this most favourable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reinforcements.

When Demochares arrived at Messana, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menecrates; 85. and when Octavian heard of his disaster at Cumae he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance, and while he was passing Stylis and turning into Scyllaeum, Pompeius darted out of Messana and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavian's fleet did not give battle, since Octavian forbade it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered

A second victory for Pompeius

CAP. IX

γνώκει, μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουισίου· γνώμῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ παρά τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν ἅπασαι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευον καὶ κατὰ πρῷραν ἀπεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Δημοχάρους δ' ἐπιστήσαντος δύο ναῦς περὶ ἑκάστην ἐθορυβοῦντο ἤδη, πρός τε τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμεναι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο· καὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἵδε ὥσπερ αἱ περὶ Κύμην, ὁρμοῦσαί τε καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωρούντων.

86. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐξήλατο τῆς νεὼς ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἄνω παρέπεμπε· Κορνιφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνευ προστάγματος ἀπέρρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς δέον τι δρῶντας παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἑστῶτας ἀμαχεὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι προκεῖσθαι. τόλμῃ τε παραβόλῳ πρῶτον ὁ Κορνιφίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοχάρους κατέσεισε καὶ εἷλε. καὶ Δημοχάρης μὲν ἐς ἑτέραν ἐξήλατο, τοιούτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόντου προσπλέοντες ἤδη Καλουίσιός τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐχ ἑώρων οὔτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὔτε ἐκ θαλάσσης, πελαγιώτεροι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου κατεῖδον καὶ ἰδόντες ἀνεχώρουν· συνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆσιν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν συμπλέκεσθαι.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐκ τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται· 87. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες

CHAP. IX

to his first determination not to fight without Calvisius. By his orders, however, all hugged the shore, rode at anchor, and defended themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Demochares, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into confusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumae, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat.

Octavian is driven ashore and retreats to the mountains

86. Octavian leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Demochares and captured it. Demochares leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavian's men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and, fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men.

This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties; 87. but at nightfall, those who had reached the shore from

CAP. IX ἐς τὰ ὄρη συνέφευγον καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον σύμβολα τοῖς ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ διενυκτέρευον οὕτως ἄσιτοι καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁμοίως ἔχων, παρεκάλει περιθέων ἐς τὴν ἕω κακοπαθῆσαι. ταλαιπωρουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καλουίσιος μὲν οὐδ' ὣς ἐγιγνώσκετο προσπλέων, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολουμένων περὶ τὰ ναυάγια· ὑπὸ δὲ ἑτέρου δαίμονος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον τέλος ἐπλησίαζε διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενοι τοὺς κρημνούς, τῷ πυρὶ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαιρόμενοι, διέδραμον καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὧδε ἔχοντας καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἐθεράπευον, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνὴν ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐδενὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ θεραπευτήρων παρόντων, ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τοσῷδε ταράχῳ διερριμμένων. περιπέμψας δ' εὐθὺς πανταχῇ τοὺς ἐξαγγελοῦντας, ὅτι σῴζοιτο, πυνθάνεται Καλουίσιον σὺν ταῖς πρόπλοις καταπλέοντα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ δύο χρηστοῖς καὶ ἀδοκήτοις ἀνεπαύετο.

X

CAP. X 88. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφορῶν ἐθεᾶτο ναῦς ἐμπεπρησμένας τε καὶ ἡμιφλέκτους ἔτι καὶ ἡμικαύστους ἄλλας τε λελυμασμένας

the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted numerous fires as signals to those who were still on the sea, and there passed the night without food, uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavian fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting them to endure their privations till morning. While he was undergoing these hardships it was not known that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything needful be obtained from the ships busied as they were with their wrecks. But good luck came to them from another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approaching by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disaster and judging of their route by the fire, they made their way through the crags. They found their commander, and those who had taken refuge with him, suffering from fatigue and want of food, and ministered to them, dividing the work, some caring for some, others for others. The centurions brought their commander into an improvised tent, as none of his body-servants were present, these having been dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had arrived with the vanguard of his fleet; and, in view of these two helpful and unexpected events, he allowed himself some rest. CHAP. IX

X

88. THE next morning, when Octavian looked out upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned, others partly burned, others still burning, and others CHAP. X

CAP. X

ἱστίων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμπλεων τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν ἔτι σῳζομένων τὰ πολλὰ πεπονηκότα. προστησάμενος οὖν τὸν Καλουισίου στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπείγοντα τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας, ἠρεμούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε διὰ Καλουίσιον εἴτε αὖθις ἀναγομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι διεγνωκότων. ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων ἑκατέρων, ἐκ μέσης ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσὼν ἤγειρε κῦμα βίαιον ἐν ῥοώδει καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ λιμένων ἔνδον ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος νῆες αὖθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσορμον ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπεφέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιν ὥστε διακρατεῖν ἐντελῶν ὄντων.

89. Μηνόδωρος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλευεν· ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ἔχων τὸ κῦμα διὰ τὸν βυθόν, εἰρεσίᾳ ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἐνίστατο καρτερᾷ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, καί τινες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὡς ἐν ἔαρι, τὰς ναῦς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἔκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κοντοῖς ἐξεώθουν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τραχυτέρου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος γενομένου συνεκέχυτο πάντα καὶ συνετρίβοντο αἱ νῆες, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀπορρηγνύουσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἢ ἐπ' ἀλλήλας τινασσόμεναι· βοή τε ἦν παμμιγὴς δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰμωζόντων καὶ παρακελευόντων ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀνήκοον· οὐ γὰρ ἐφικνοῦντο ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης

CHAP. X

broken in pieces; and the sea filled with sails, rudders, and tackle, while, of the ships that were saved, the greater part were damaged. Having ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs on those of his vessels that most needed them, canting them, the enemy meantime remaining quiet, either because they feared Calvisius, or because they had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus they remained on either side until midday, when a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius was then inside the harbour of Messana. The ships of Octavian were again shattered on the rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the rocks and against each other, for, as they were not fully manned, they were not under good control.

Terrible storm in the straits of Sicily

89. Menodorus, apprehending that this rising storm would increase in violence, moved farther seaward and rode at anchor: here, on account of the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous; and even here he had recourse to hard rowing to avoid being driven ashore, some of the others following his example, but most of them, thinking that the wind would soon subside, as it usually does in the springtime, moored themselves with anchors at either end, landward and seaward, pushing each other off with poles. As the wind grew more violent everything was thrown into confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, and were thrown quivering on the shore or against one another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain were mingled together, and exhortations that fell upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard, and there was no distinction between pilot and common

Destruction of Octavian's fleet

CAP. X

ἰδιώτου διέφερεν οὔτε κατ' ἐπιστήμην οὔτε προστάσσων. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόρος ἦν ὅμοιος ἔν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καί, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ ξύλοις ἀρασσομένων· ἔγεμεν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἱστίων καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεκρῶν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγὼν ἐκνήχοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσοντο καὶ οἵδε ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπάσμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὃ συνήθως ἐπιγίγνεται τῷδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἀήθεις καὶ τόδε ἐξέπλησσε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερόμενα συνέπιπτεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς νύκτα χαλεπώτερον ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ διόλλυσθαι.

90. Οἰμωγαί τε ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μετακλήσεις ἀνά τε τὴν γῆν διαθεόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καλούντων ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ θρηνούντων, ὅτε μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ὡς ἀπολωλότας· ἔμπαλίν τε ἑτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ὑπερκυπτόντων τὸ κῦμα καὶ ἐς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ παρακαλούντων. ἀμήχανα δὲ πάντα ἦν ἑκατέροις· καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ ἧσσον ἦν ἀπορωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κῦμα συναράξειεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας. ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ, γῆς ὄντες ἀγχοτάτω καὶ τὴν γῆν δεδιότες καὶ οὔτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστῆναι· ἡ γὰρ στενότης ἡ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ κλύδων ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ

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sailor, knowledge and authority being alike unavailing. The same destruction awaited those in the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber. The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf. When the convulsion seized the water,[1] as is usual in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed to it, and then their vessels were whirled around and dashed against each other worse than ever. As night came on the wind increased in fury, so that they perished no longer in the light but in the darkness.

Great loss of life

90. Groans were heard throughout the entire night, and the cries of men running along the shore and calling their friends and relatives upon the sea by name, and mourning for them as lost when they could hear no responses; and anon the cries of others lifting their heads above the waves and beseeching aid from those on shore. Nothing could be done on either land or water. Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but the danger was almost as great on land as at sea, lest the surf should dash them against the rocks. So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest that those who were nearest the land feared the land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid collision with each other, for the narrowness of the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together with the force of the waves, the rotary motion of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains,

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[1] This refers to the whirlpool of Charybdis.

CAP. τῶν περικειμενων ὀρῶν ἐς θυέλλας περικλώμενον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ σπασμὸς ἐπὶ πάντα είλούμενος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε· τό τε σκότος ἠνώχλει νυκτὸς μάλιστα μελαίνης· ὅθεν ἔθνησκον οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους ἔτι, οἱ μὲν θορυβούμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παριέμενοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἔνιοι ὡς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως. γενόμενον γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρεῖσσον ἐπινοίας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδα ἀφῃρεῖτο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἄφνω τὸ πνεῦμα προσιούσης ἡμέρας διελύετο καὶ μεθ' ἡλίου ἐπιτολὴν πάμπαν ἐμαραίνετο. καὶ τὸ κῦμα ὅμως καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλυθέντος, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ποτὲ τηλικοῦτον ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι· γενόμενον δὲ ἔθους τε καὶ νόμου κρεῖσσον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλέον.

91. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραίας ἡμέρας πολλὰ τῷ πολέμῳ βλαβεὶς καὶ δύο τοῖσδε συμπτώμασιν ὁμοῦ συνενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱππώνειον εὐθὺς ᾔει διὰ ὀρῶν τῶν νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδήν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενος τὴν συμφοράν, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν εἶχεν ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστελλε πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς εἶναι, μή τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἑτέρωθεν ὡς ἐν κακοπραγίᾳ γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἅπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολμήσειε καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁ Πομπήιος. ὁ δὲ οὔτε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνενόησεν οὔτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ ναυαγίου παροῦσιν ἢ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπ-

CHAP. X

and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were irretrievably doomed. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavian's ships and men were destroyed by it.

Octavian retreats to Vibo

91. Octavian, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had subsided.

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εχείρησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν διαζωννυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμῳ διαπλέοντας ἐς τὸ Ἱππώνειον, εἴτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῖν οἱ νομίζων εἴτ᾽ ἄπειρος ὢν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἴθ᾽, ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι καὶ ἑτέρωθι, ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅλως μαλακὸς ὢν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἐς ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιεσώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπὼν δ᾽ ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν ᾔει δυσφορῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεόμενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αὖθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ᾽ ἔχρῃζε καὶ ἠπόρει, Ῥωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἐώντων, οὓς ἐπινοήσειε. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν ἀεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἔπεμπε Μαικήναν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἔναγχος ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξόμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὁλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μεθεὶς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι. οὕτω δ᾽ ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκη κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας

CHAP.
X

Pompeius does not pursue

On the contrary, he paid no attention to the enemy while they were frapping their ships with ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a favourable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either because he thought that the disaster was all-sufficient for him, or because he did not know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere, because he was altogether inefficient in attack and determined only to defend himself against assailants.

Octavian appeals to Antony for aid

92. Less than half of Octavian's ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent Maecenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter respecting the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Maecenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa.[1] His friends

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[1] There is probably a gap or error in the text.

CAP. X ἄγων ἐφάνη. οἵ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεών τινες αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχνοῦντο καὶ ἐποίουν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίει καὶ λαμπροτέραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγνυτο· 93. ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνήλλακτο τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἔτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὖθις ὡς ἐπὶ ἕτοιμα καὶ ἀρκοῦντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἑτέρας ἀσχολίας προὔφερε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἢ αὖθις ἐπιμεμφόμενός τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενεν ὅμως καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγίᾳ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρῄζων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους Ἰταλοῦ, Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκάτερον ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχερὲς δ' ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ Καίσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὀκταουία οὖν ἐχώρει πρὸς Καίσαρα διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλελύσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικήνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλίαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, συντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναι Καλλίαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον· βουληθῆναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ

and certain cities also promised him ships, and built them. CHAP. X

Accordingly, Octavian cast off his despondency, and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones. 93. At the beginning of spring, Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavian as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated with Octavian again, because the expense of his fleet was burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavian's army; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavian. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavian complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits; she replied that that had been explained through Maecenas. Octavian said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him; she replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before

B.C. 36

Antony comes to his help with three hundred ships

CAP. X

τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδόσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ παιδὶ Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὡμολόγητο. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἡ Ὀκταουία, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Καλλίαν ἔπεμπεν, ἐς βάσανον τῷ Καίσαρι διδούς· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο μέν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ἔφη καὶ συμμίξειν Ἀντωνίῳ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίου καὶ Τάραντος, μέσον ἔχων ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον.

94. Κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων τῷ ῥεύματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθορὼν ἔς τι τῶν παρορμούντων σκαφῶν ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ ἐπέρα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, πιστεύον ὡς φίλῳ. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἀντεμιμεῖτο, καὶ ξυμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ διήριζον, ἑκάτερος ἐκβῆναι βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἐνίκα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἥξων ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπί τε τῆς ἀπήνης Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρῆλθέ τε ἀφύλακτος καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὁμοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρὶς δορυφόρων παρ' αὐτῷ. τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεδείκνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχὴς ἡ μεταβολή, πρός τε τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας.

95. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίπλουν τὸν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς νέωτα ἀνεβάλλετο· ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπιμένειν διὰ Παρθυαίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντέδοσαν ὅμως ἀλλήλοις, Καίσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ναῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἃς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ δισμυρίους Ἰταλοὺς ὁπλίτας, οὓς ἐπιπέμψειν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὀκταουία τὸν

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setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. After Octavian had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavian with permission to put him to the question. Octavian would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is the river whence the town is named[1] between them.

Meeting of Octavian and Antony

94. They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavian, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavian saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavian prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs.

95. However, Octavian postponed his expedition against Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavian 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavian promised to send him 20000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the

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[1] The Taras.

CAP. X

ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασήλοις τριηριτικοῖς, ἐπιμίκτοις ἔκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν καὶ μακρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ χιλίοις λογάσι σωματοφύλαξιν, οὓς ἐπιλέξαιτο Ἀντώνιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐψήφιστο ἀνδράσιν, ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῖς ὥριζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες. οὕτω μὲν οὖν διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἠπείγετο, τὴν Ὀκταουίαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν μετὰ θυγατρὸς ἤδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

96. Μηνόδωρος δέ, εἴτε τις ὢν φύσει παλιμπροδότης εἴτε δείσας τήν ποτε ἀπειλὴν Ἀντωνίου, ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς ἀνδράποδον πολεμοποιόν, εἴτε ἐλασσόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι νομίζων παρ' ἃ προσεδόκησεν, εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἐξελευθέρων τοῦ Πομπηίου συνεχῶς ὀνειδιζόντων ἐς ἀπιστίαν δεσπότου καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπανελθεῖν Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόντος, πίστιν αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς Πομπήιον σὺν ἑπτὰ ναυσί, Καλουίσιον τὸν ναύαρχον τοῦ Καίσαρος διαλαθών. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Καλουίσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν Ἀγρίππαν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἕτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἐκάθαιρεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαύουσι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοὺς περιέστηκε κατὰ ναῦν μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱερουργοὶ θύουσι μὲν ἑστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρὶς ἐπὶ σκαφῶν περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμπεριπλεόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρωμένων ἐς τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ

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favour from Antony, made her brother a present of ten three-banked phaseli—a combination of war-ship and merchant vessel—and Octavian gave her in return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it for five years without again asking the people. And so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also a daughter already born to them.

Antony returns to his Parthian expedition

Menodorus deserts to Pompeius

96. But Menodorus,—either because he was a turn-coat by nature, or because he feared the former threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received less consideration than he had expected, or because the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and urging him to return,—now that Menecrates was dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it, deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the knowledge of Octavian's admiral, Calvisius. For this reason Octavian dismissed the latter from his command and appointed Agrippa in his place.

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When the fleet was ready, Octavian performed a lustration for it in the following manner. The altars are erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude ranged around them in a circle of ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who perform the ceremony offer the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carry the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times round the fleet, the generals sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet.

CAP. X ἀπαίσια τραπῆναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτά, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ἅπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεὼς ἐπευφημεῖ. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικὰ καθαίρουσιν.

XI

CAP. XI 97. Ἔμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, ὁ δὲ Λέπιδος ἐκ Λιβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἠοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν. καὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προείρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἥν τινα Ῥωμαῖοι νουμηνίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰούλιου ἀντὶ Κυιντιλίου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥρισε τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσιούμενος ἴσως διὰ τὸν πατέρα νικηφόρον αἰεὶ γενόμενον· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λεπίδῳ μὲν ἀντέτασσε Πλένιον ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὁπλιτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον κούφως, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἕω καὶ δύσιν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσαν ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα Λιπάραν τε καὶ Κοσσύραν, ἵνα μήτε Κοσσύρα Λεπίδῳ μήτε Λιπάρα Καίσαρι ἐνορμίσματα ἢ ναύσταθμα γένοιτο εὔκαιρα ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ἐπεδρεῦον ὅπῃ δεήσειεν.

98. Οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενομένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνήγοντο πάντες ἅμα ἠοῖ, Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίαις ὁλκάσι καὶ μακραῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα

Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burn them, while the multitude chant in unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations of the fleet. CHAP. X

XI

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Expedition against Sextus Pompeius

97. It was intended that Octavian should set sail from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from Tarentum, against Sicily, in order to surround the enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south. The day of Octavian's sailing had been previously communicated to all; it was the tenth day after the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar, was the calends of the month which, in honour of the first Caesar, they call July instead of Quintilis. Octavian fixed on this day, perhaps because he considered it propitious on account of his father, who was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plenius at Lilybaeum with one legion and a considerable body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and west, and especially the islands of Lipara and Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbours and naval stations, the one for Octavian the other for Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval force he kept together at Messana watching its chances.

Lepidus brings a fleet from Africa

98. In this way they made their preparations on either side, and when the calends came they all set sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of

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καὶ ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ ἑτέρᾳ παρασκευῇ πολλῇ, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς Ἀντωνίου ναυσὶν ἐξ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δύο μόναις καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἐρέται χειμῶνος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, θύων ἅμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδίοις καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμονι θαλάσσῃ, συλλήπτορας αὐτῷ κατὰ ἐχθρῶν πατρῴων γενέσθαι. πρόπλοι δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης διηρεύνων, καὶ Ἄππιος μετα πλήθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εἵπετο. τρίτῃ δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡμέρᾳ νότος ἐμπεσὼν Λεπίδου μὲν ὁλκάδας ἀνέτρεψε πολλάς, ὡρμίσθη δὲ ὅμως ἐς Σικελίαν καί, Πλένιον ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπήγετο καὶ ἑτέρας ἐβιάζετο· Ταῦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς Τάραντα ἐπαλινδρόμει. Ἀππίου δ' ἄρτι τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ἄκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν συνετρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δ' ἐς τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ ῥύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ διερρίφησαν οὐκ ἀσινεῖς. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸν Ἐλεάτην κόλπον ἐρυμνὸν ὄντα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἑξήρους μιᾶς, ἣ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ διελύθη· λιβὸς δὲ τὸν νότον μεταλαβόντος ὁ κόλπος ἐκυκᾶτο, ἐς τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀνεῳγμένος, καὶ οὔτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἔτι πρὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, οὔτε κῶπαι κατεῖχον οὔτε ἄγκυραι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλήλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν ἀτοπώτερον.

99. Ἐνδόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε,

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soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter. Octavian sailed from Puteoli, offering sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to Saviour Neptune, and to Waveless Ocean, that they should be his allies against his father's enemies. Certain ships sent in advance made examination of the bays, and Appius with a large squadron followed as a rear guard. On the third day after their departure a south wind blew with violence and capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian coast, laid siege to Plenius in Lilybaeum, and got possession of some towns by persuasion and others by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not without injury. At the beginning of the storm, Octavian took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea, except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by a south-wester, which threw the bay into commotion, as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They crashed against each other or against the rocks, and by night confusion became worse confounded.

Another storm damages Octavian's ships and causes delay

99. When the tempest had subsided, Octavian buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed

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καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐνέδυε, καὶ ὥπλιζεν ἑτέροις ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ' αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τάδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἤδη τοῦ θέρους προκόπτοντος· ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρος ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπείξεως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρῳ ναῦς κενὰς ἐξέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μείζονι, Μαικήναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἱππώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πεζὰ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

100. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιᾷδε εὐκαιρίᾳ τοσοῖσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠξίου, ἀλλ' ἔθυε μόνον θαλάσσῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δὶς οὕτω θέρους πταῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ' αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε χαυνούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη

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those who had swum ashore and furnished them with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of liburnian galleys had been destroyed. He was likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs; and now the end of summer was approaching, for which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war till the following summer, but as the people were suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the crews of the ships he had lost to fill the empty ones in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more serious misfortune he sent Maecenas to Rome on account of those who were still under the spell of the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of that man had not yet lost its influence over them. Octavian himself visited the new colonies throughout Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been excited by the recent events. He also went to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus. Then he proceeded to Vibo, where he encouraged his infantry and hastened the preparations of his fleet, the time for his second invasion of Sicily being near at hand.

Sextus fails to use his opportunities

100. Pompeius however did not deign to seize even the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple

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τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι χλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανῆν μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιούμενον ἄρα ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. ἐλπίσας δ' ἀναζεύξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐπύθετο ναυπηγούμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσούμενον αὖθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν ὡς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν, Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἑπτὰ ὧν ἤγαγεν ἔπεμπε κατασκεψόμενον τὰ νεώλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δράσοντα, ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι σὺν ὑποψίᾳ μόνων ἠξίωτο ὧν ἤγαγε νεῶν, ἐπεβούλευεν αὖθις αὐτομολίαν.

101. Ἐπινοῶν δὲ πρότερον, ὡς ἐς πάντα οἱ συνοῖσον, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδωκε τοῖς συμπλέουσιν, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίον, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσίᾳ τρισὶν ἡμέραις πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις σταδίους καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγουμένων Καίσαρι νεῶν οἷα σκηπτὸς ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐς ἀφανὲς ἀναχωρῶν ἥρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς ὁλκάδας, αἳ τὸν σῖτον ἔφερον, ὁρμούσας ἢ παραπλεούσας κατέδυεν ἢ ἀνεδεῖτο ἢ ἐνεπίμπρη. θορύβου δὲ πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος ἔτι καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐπὶ ὕλην ἐπεπόρευτο. γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἐξώκειλέ ποτε τὴν ναῦν ἑκὼν ἐς ἕρμα γῆς ἁπαλὸν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταθορόντων

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cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of Neptune. He hoped that Octavian would now take himself off, but when he learned that the latter was building ships and was about to renew the expedition against him that summer, he became alarmed at finding himself at war with a man of such indomitable spirit and such formidable preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards of Octavian and to do whatever damage he could. Menodorus had been vexed for some time past because the naval command had not been given to him, and he now perceived that he was entrusted with only the ships that he had brought, because he was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion.

Menodorus again turns traitor

101. Conceiving that however matters might turn out, he should first signalize himself by some act of valour, he distributed among his companions all the gold he had, and crossed by a three days' rowing, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels that were guarding Octavian's shipyards, and disappeared carrying off the guard-ships by twos and threes, sinking also, or capturing, or burning the merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored there or sailing along the coast. Everything was thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus, both Octavian and Agrippa being absent, for Agrippa had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of bravado Menodorus once ran his ship upon a sandbank, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended to be stuck in the mud, until his enemies dashed down from the mountains upon him as to a certain

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ὡς ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρου θήραν ἕτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος ᾤχετο σὺν θαύματι.

Ὡς δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἷος ἐχθρός τε καὶ φίλος εἴη, Ῥέβιλον μὲν ἑλών, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, μεθῆκε, μνώμενος ἤδη τὸ μέλλον. 102. Μινδίῳ δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ, τῶν ἑταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγονὼς αὐτομολίᾳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν Μίνδιον βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσπελάσας ἠξίου Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἔς τινα νησῖδα ἐπὶ λόγοις συνοίσουσι. καὶ συνελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἑτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν ἐς Πομπήιον ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Καλουισίου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππου μεταλαβόντος ἐπανελεύσεσθαι πρὸς Καίσαρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειεν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσσάλα τοῦ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππα διοικοῦντος. ἔφη δ' ἐπανελθὼν μὲν ἰάσεσθαι λαμπροῖς τὸ ἁμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέχρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖσθαί τινα τῶν Καίσαρος ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὖθις ἐλυμαίνετο, Μεσσάλας δ' ἐνεδοίασε μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχρῷ, ἐνέδωκε δ' ὅμως, εἴτε πολέμου ταῦτ' εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθὼν ἢ τεκμηράμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὖθις ηὐτομόλει καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντα προσπίπτων ἠξίου συγγνῶναι μὴ λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐς

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prey, when he backed away, and left them in amazement.

When he had sufficiently shown what he was capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebilus, having a view already to the future. 102. During his former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavian, and he now told his own men that Mindius had the intention of betraying his party and deserting to that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy and invited Mindius to go with him to a small island in order to have a conference. When the latter came, and there was nobody else within earshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had been appointed to the command of the fleet he would come back to Octavian, who had done him no wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa's absence. He said that on his return he would make amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged to harrass the forces of Octavian as before in order to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala hesitated at so dirty a transaction, but he nevertheless yielded, either because he considered such things necessary in war, or because he had learned beforehand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavian. So Menodorus again deserted, and, upon the approach of Octavian, threw himself at his feet and begged that he would pardon him without asking for the reasons for his flight. Octavian conceded his safety

He surrenders his ships and himself to Octavian

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μὲν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ συνεγίνωσκε διὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, τοὺς δὲ τριηράρχους αὐτοῦ μεθίει χωροῦντας ὅποι θέλοιεν.

103. Ἑτοίμου δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὖθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἱππώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λεπίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθμεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὐθὺ Ταυρομενίου, τρία δ' ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυλίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς ἐσομένοις· Ταῦρον δ' ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον ὄρος, ὃ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεῖν ἐκ Τάραντος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιέπλει διεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰρεσίαν· καὶ τὰ πεζὰ αὐτῷ παρωμάρτει, προερευνώντων τήν τε γῆν ἱππέων καὶ λιβυρνίδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐξ Ἱππωνείου ἐπιδραμὼν ἐπιφαίνεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἱππώνειον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, ὥς μοι προείρηται, τάς τε ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασσεν ἁπάσας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ὡς βοηθήσων, ὅποι δεήσειεν.

104. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ αὖθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἦγον αἱ ὁλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπήντα πελάγιος ἐκ Πομπηίου Παπίας καὶ διέφθειρεν ὡς φιλίους δεχομένας· ᾤοντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Λεπίδου συναντᾶν. αἱ δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καθείλκοντο, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὁλκάδες ὡς καὶ τάσδε ἄλλας πολεμίας

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on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

Disposition of Octavian's forces

103. When the fleet was ready Octavian set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there, and three legions he sent to Stylis and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail round from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium, which is opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, cavalry reconnoitring by land and liburnians by sea. While he was making this movement Octavian, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said, guarded all the landing places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

104. Such were the preparations of Octavian and Pompeius. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius' captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus leisurely, and when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for

Disaster to Lepidus

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ἐξέκλιναν, ἕως αἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐλήφθησαν, αἱ δ' ἀνετράπησαν, αἱ δ' ἐς Λιβύην ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διώλετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καί, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ τούσδε Τισιηνὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Λέπιδον κατήχθησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δ' ὕστερον. καὶ Παπίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπήιον.

105. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἣ τῶν πέντε νήσων ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν ἐξ Ἱππωνείου, προερευνωμένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης· στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἰδὼν ἔν τε Πελωριάδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἴκασεν αὐτὸν παρεῖναι Πομπήιον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγρίππᾳ διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἱππώνειον αὖθις ἀπέπλει καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἱππωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχαζεν, ὡς Ταυρομένιον αἱρήσων ἀπόντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς αὐτῷ διχόθεν παρέξων. Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ἱερὰν διέπλει καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποστάντων εἷλε τὴν Ἱερὰν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλεν ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐς Μύλας Δημοχάρει τῷ Πομπηίου, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, τὸ βίαιον ὑφορώμενος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἔπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρει ναῦς ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐξελεύθερον ἄγοντα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπετο ἄλλαις ἑβδομήκοντα.

106. Ἀγρίππας δ' ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπίᾳ μόνῳ ναυμαχή-

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other enemies and fled. So some of them were burned, some captured, some upset, and the rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached the land. The other legions re-embarked and joined Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed back to Pompeius.

105. Octavian crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle,[1] one of the five Aeolian islands, having made a reconnaissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylae, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hiera, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylae, Demochares, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa and sent to Demochares from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apollophanes, and followed in person with seventy others.

Agrippa occupies the island of Hiera

106. Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hiera before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only. When he saw the

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[1] The modern Stromboli.

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σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ἑτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέονι ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἦγε κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν· ἐσκεύαστο δ' ἀμφοτέροις πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον κατά τε πρῷραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἵ τε παρακελεύσεις, οἵας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγένηντο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἦρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σύν τε βοῇ καὶ ῥοθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπηίῳ μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ περίπλους, καίσαρι δὲ μείζω καὶ βαρύτερα καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαιότερα δὲ ὅμως ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι· καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέκτουν, καὶ ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἢ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἢ κώπας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἔβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἧσσονα· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ κατέσειον ἢ διερρήγνυον καί, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἔβαλλόν τε ὡς ταπεινοτέρας ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ κόρακας ἢ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθεῖεν, ἐξήλλοντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοῦ

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He attacks the Pompeian fleet and wins a victory

fleet of Apollophanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavian at once that Pompeius was at Mylae with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hiera in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavian were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavian, but the later were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, and they broke oar blades and rudders, cut off oar handles, or separated the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavian sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the "ravens"[1] and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians whenever they were overpowered in this manner leaped into the sea.

They were picked up by their small boats, which

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[1] A plank with a spike, for grappling.

CAP. XI Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν, 107. ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἵετο μάλιστα εὐθὺ τοῦ Παπίου καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοῖλα ἀνέρρηξεν· ἡ δὲ τούς τε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσείσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμίαι πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τὸ κατάστρωμα ἀναρρήξαντες ἐξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρορμοῦσαν ἀναληφθεὶς αὖθις ἐπῄει τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ὄρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελούσας καὶ ψιλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, Ἀγρίππᾳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐσήμηνε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες ἀεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. Ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπιβαρήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐς τοὺς αἰγιαλούς, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.

108. Καὶ Ἀγρίππας, κωλυόντων αὐτὸν τῶν κυβερνητῶν μεγάλαις ναυσὶν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δ' αὐτῷ παραινούντων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν πολυχείμωνι θαλάσσῃ, μόλις ἑσπέρας ἀνεζεύγνυε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ ἐς τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάψαντες ἄλλα ἱκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικαύταις ναυσὶν ἀντέσχον, τειχομαχῆσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν

were hovering around for this purpose, 107. but Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking into the hold. The men in the towers were shaken off, the water rushed into the ship, and all the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off. The others broke through the deck and escaped by swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius, who observed from a mountain that his ships were making little headway, and that whenever they came to close quarters with the enemy they were denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal to retire in good order. This they did, advancing and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea by river deposits. CHAP. XI

108. Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to fight a battle by night if necessary: but his friends advised him not to be carried away by rashness and not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians made sail to their harbours, having lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius praised his own men because they had resisted such formidable vessels, saying they had fought against walls rather than against ships; and he rewarded

CAP. XI ἢ ναυμαχῆσαι καὶ ὡς νενικηκότας ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν κουφοτέρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

XII

CAP. XII Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ Μύλας Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ Παπίᾳ γενομένης· 109. τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα ὁ Πομπήιος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ, μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπών, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατόν, ἐς ὅσον ἤπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει· καὶ παρῆλθε μὲν εἴσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἐξεώσθη. προσεχώρησαν δ' ἕτεραι πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἱεράν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη μὲν ἐς Λευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν ἔτι ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν· ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας ἔμελλε νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομένιον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνω μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νενικηκώς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιοῦσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πάντως ἡγεῖτο Πομπήιον Ἀγρίππᾳ παραμένειν. κατασκεψάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει

them as though they had been victorious. He encouraged them to believe that, as they were lighter, they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on account of the current. He said also that he would make some addition to the height of his ships. CHAP. XI

XII

CHAP. XII

Octavian crosses the straits and demands the surrender of Tauromenium

So ended the naval battle of Mylae, between Agrippa and Papias. 109. But Pompeius suspected that Octavian had gone to the camp of Taurus for the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was the case. So, directly after supper, he sailed to Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylae so that Agrippa might think that he was still there. Agrippa, as soon as he had given his army sufficient rest, set sail for Tyndaris, which was apparently ready to surrender. He entered the town, but the garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some other towns espoused his cause and received his garrisons, and he returned that evening to Hiera. In the meantime, Octavian had sailed from Scylacium to Leucopetra, having learned for a certainty that Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylae on account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night, but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind, thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage, but to cross with his army boldly by daylight; for he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still confronting Agrippa. Looking down from the mountains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as

CAP. XII

στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπών, ἕως ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον προσέπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαξόμενος αὐτό, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὡρμίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν ἐστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῳκισμένοι.

110. Ἐνταῦθα *τῆς νεὼς ἐκβαίνων ὁ* Καῖσαρ *ὤλισθε καὶ ἔπεσε καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ καθισταμένῳ ἔτι τὸ στρατόπεδον* Πομπήιος *ἐπέπλει στόλῳ πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἀδόκητον· ᾤετο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρήλαυνε δὲ τῷ* Πομπηίῳ *καὶ ἡ ἵππος, ἐς τάχος διερίζουσα τῷ ναυτικῷ, καὶ τὰ πεζὰ ἑτέρωθεν ἐφαίνετο, ὥστε δεῖσαι μὲν ἅπαντας, ἐν μέσῳ τριῶν στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένους, δεῖσαι δὲ τὸν* Καίσαρα, *Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππέες εὐθὺς ἠνώχλουν οἱ* Πομπηίου *χαρακοποιουμένους ἔτι τοὺς τοῦ* Καίσαρος· *εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφώρμησε, τάχα ἄν τι μεῖζον ἐξήνυστο τῷ* Πομπηίῳ. *νῦν δὲ ἀπείρως τε πολέμου, καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας τοῦ θορύβου τῶν* Καίσαρος, *καὶ ὄκνου, μὴ μάχης περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν ἄρχειν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς* Κόκκυνον *ἄκραν ὡρμίσαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς Φοίνικα πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ* Καίσαρος *τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν, ὑπὸ δὲ*

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the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily.

He is suddenly attacked by Pompeius on land and sea

110. When Octavian disembarked from his ship he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius made his appearance with a large fleet—an astounding spectacle, since Octavian believed that he had been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry advanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side; so that the forces of Octavian were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavian himself was alarmed because he could not send for Messala. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavian's men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but as it was, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavian, and hesitating to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus, while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phoenix. Night coming on, they went to rest, and Octavian's soldiers finished their camp,

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κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλάπτοντο. τέλη δ᾽ ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱππέες χωρὶς ἵππων πεντακόσιοι καὶ κοῦφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι σύμμαχοι χωρὶς καταλόγου δισχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτοις.

111. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πεζὰ πάντα Κορνιφικίῳ παραδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὅ τι ἐπείγοι· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, μὴ καὶ τοῦδε αὐτὸν ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Καρισίῳ, λιβυρνίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε καὶ περιέπλει πάντας παρακαλῶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικὰ σημεῖα, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὤν, ἀπέθετο. ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου δὶς μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἁλισκομένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν, αἱ μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἱστίων ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων καταφρονοῦσαι· καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διώξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ᾕρουν ὁμοίως, τὰς δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσενήχοντο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἱππέες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διέφθειρον ἢ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεχείρει, τοὺς κούφους ἐκπέμπων μόνους· οὐ γὰρ εὔκαιρον ἐδόκει κινεῖν φάλαγγα δύσθυμον ἀντικαθημένων πεζῶν μεγαλοφρονουμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκῃ.

112. Καίσαρα δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ἐς πολὺ

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but were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of sleep. They consisted of three legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet.

111. Octavian placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He himself took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carisius, and embarking himself on a liburnian, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavian's ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory.

Octavian's fleet beaten and dispersed

112. Octavian spent the greater part of the night

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τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνακωχεύοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον, εἴτε ἐς Κορνιφίκιον ἐπανέλθοι διὰ μέσων τοσῶνδε ναυαγίων εἴτε ἐς Μεσσάλαν διαφύγοι, θεὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀβάλαν λιμένα παρήνεγκε μεθ᾽ ἑνὸς ὁπλοφόρου, χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ θεραπόντων. καί τινες ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων καταθέοντες εὗρον αὐτὸν τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσταλμένον, καὶ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐξ ἀκατίου μεταφέροντες, ἵνα διαλάθοι, μετεκόμισαν ἐς Μεσσάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὄντα. ὁ δ᾽ εὐθύς, ἔτι ἀθεράπευτος, ἔς τε Κορνιφίκιον ἔστελλε λιβυρνίδα καὶ πανταχοῦ διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν περιέπεμπεν, ὅτι σῴζοιτο, Κορνιφικίῳ τε πάντας ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμψειν βοήθειαν. θεραπεύσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐς Στυλίδα νυκτὸς ἐξῄει, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόπλου τέλη· καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέραν, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἠξίου κινδυνεύοντι Κορνιφικίῳ πέμπειν Λαρώνιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως. Μαικήναν δ᾽ αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας· καί τινες παρακινοῦντες ἐκολάσθησαν. καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ἔπεμπεν, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς Ἱππώνειον.

113. Μεσσάλας δὲ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκηρύχεσαν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον φυγών, ἀποθανόντων ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς Ἀντωνίῳ παραδεδώκει. καί μοι τοῦτο ἀναμνῆσαι νῦν

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among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbour of Abala with a single armour-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him shattered in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he dispatched a liburnian to Cornificius, and set word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Stylis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail to the other side, whither he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Maecenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the first legion to Vibo.

Octavian escapes to the shore and rallies his land forces

113. This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems fitting to recall this fact now in honour of Roman

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ἔδοξεν ἐς ζήλωμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς, ὅπου Μεσσάλας, μόνον ἔχων ἐν τοσῇδε συμφορᾷ τὸν προγράψαντα, ἐθεράπευεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ περιέσῳζε.

Κορνιφίκιος δὲ ἀποτρέψασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εὐμαρῶς εἶχε τοὺς πολεμίους, κινδυνεύων δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε καὶ προυκαλεῖτο. Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπλεκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὥδευεν ὁ Κορνιφίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντας ἀνόπλους ἔχων βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πεδινοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἳ Νομάδες Λίβυες ὄντες ἠκόντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπέφευγον.

114. Τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἣν ῥύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ μέχρι θαλάσσης κατιοῦσαν, ἐπικλύσαι καὶ σβέσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μόνης ὁδεύουσι νυκτός, πνιγώδη τε οὖσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ κονιορτοῦ σποδώδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κορνιφίκιον οὔτε νυκτὸς ἐθάρρουν, ἐν ἀσελήνῳ μάλιστα, ἰέναι διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπεπνίγοντο καὶ τὰς βάσεις ὡς ἐν θέρει καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίοντο, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύνειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνοχλοῦσαν, οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν βαλλόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξῄεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐτιτρώσκοντο

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magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, alone and overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him as his commander.

Cornificius marches across Sicily

Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled javelins from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies.

Terrible sufferings of his troops

114. On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as far as the sea and dried up all the springs in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure it by day, but even suffocated, and the soles of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer; and since delay was impossible on account of the tormenting thirst, they no longer resisted their assailants, but re-

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ἀφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τῆς διακεκαυμένης ἕτεροι κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπήδων ἐς τοὺς αὐχένας οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς ὅσον εἶχον δυνάμεως. κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς αὐχένων ἀπεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν ἤδη καὶ μεθεῖντο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους καὶ κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου καὶ πηγὴν πλησίον οὖσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντος, οἱ μὲν αὖθις ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες, ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν πηγὴν κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παντελὴς ἤδη τοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου κατεῖχον ἀθυμία, καὶ παρίεντο.

115. Ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Λαρώνιος ἐπιφαίνεται μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι πεμφθείς, οὔπω μὲν ἔνδηλος ὤν, ὅτι φίλος εἴη· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀνέφερον αὖθις αὑτῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιντο ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὅσον ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου δρόμῳ τὴν πηγὴν κατέλαβον. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκωλύοντο πίνειν ἀθρόως· ὅσοι δὲ ἠμέλησαν, ἔπινον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον.

Οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου Κορνιφίκιος καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περιεσώθη πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Μύλας· 116. ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα εἰλήφει, τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς

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ceived wounds without any means of defence. When they saw the place of exit from this burned district occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless of their sick and unprotected companions, dashed at the defile with amazing courage and overpowered the enemy with all their remaining strength. When they found the next defile occupied by hostile forces they gave way to despair and succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused them by showing them a spring of water near by; and again they overpowered the enemy, but with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of enemies held possession of the fountain, and now Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way completely.

He is rescued by Agrippa

115. While they were in this state Laronius, who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as hope all the time led them to expect a friend, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength; and when the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess: those who neglected this advice died while drinking.

In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and those of his army who managed to get away, escape to Agrippa at Mylae.[1] 116. Agrippa, however, had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither

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[1] An error of Appian's: see below.

πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ πεζὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας διεβίβαζεν. ἐγένοντό τε αὐτῷ πάντες ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὁπλιτῶν μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἓν τέλος. ἱππέες δὲ δισμύριοι καὶ κοῦφοι πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων. Μύλας δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μυλῶν ἐπί τε Ναυλόχους καὶ Πελωριάδα καὶ τὰ παράλια πάντα φρουραὶ Πομπηίου κατεῖχον, αἳ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ἀγρίππου πῦρ διηνεκὲς ἔκαιον ὡς ἐμπρήσοντες τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας. ἐκράτει δὲ καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἑκατέρων ὁ Πομπήιος. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ Ταυρομένιον καὶ περὶ Μύλας τὰς περιόδους τῶν ὀρῶν ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ Τυνδαρίδος ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰόντα ἠνώχλει, μὴ συμπλεκόμενον. Ἀγρίππου δὲ νομισθέντος ἐπελεῖν ἐς Πελωριάδα μετεπήδησεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὰ στενὰ περὶ Μύλας· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τε κατέσχε καὶ Μυλῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμισίου, πολίχνης βραχυτάτης, ἐν ᾗ φασι τὰς Ἡλίου βοῦς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον Ὀδυσσεῖ.

117. Ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππου δόξης φανείσης, ὁ Πομπήιος ἡσθεὶς τῶν στενῶν ἀφῃρημένος καὶ Τισιηνὸν ἐκάλει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Τισιηνῷ δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα καὶ διημάρτανε τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ ὄρος τὸ Μυκόνιον, ἔνθα ἄσκηνος ἐνυκτέρευσεν· ὄμβρου τε πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος, οἷος ἐν φθινοπώρῳ γίγνεται, τῶν ὁπλοφόρων τινὲς τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀσπίδα Κελτικὴν ὑπερέσχον αὐτοῦ. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βρόμοι τῆς Αἴτνης σκληροὶ καὶ μυκήματα μακρὰ καὶ σέλα περιλάμποντα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Γερμανοὺς ἐξ εὐνίων

Octavian transported his infantry and cavalry. He had in Sicily altogether twenty-one legions of infantry, 20000 cavalry, and more than 5000 light-armed troops. The garrison of Pompeius still held Mylae, and all places from Mylae to Naulochi and Pelorus, and all the coast. These garrisons, in fear of Agrippa, kept fires burning continually, signifying that they would set fire to any ships that should sail against them. Pompeius was also master of the defiles on both sides of the island. The mountain passes in the neighbourhood of Tauromenium and around Mylae were fortified by him, and he harassed Octavian when the latter was making a forward movement from Tyndaris, but not coming to an engagement. Believing that Agrippa was moving his fleet against him, Pompeius changed his position to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles around Mylae; and Octavian occupied them and also Mylae and Artemisium, a very small town, in which, they say, were the cattle of the Sun and where Ulysses fell asleep.

Octavian occupies small towns on the northern coast

117. When the report of Agrippa's movement turned out to be false, Pompeius was troubled that he had lost the defiles,[1] and he called to his assistance Tisienus, with his army. Octavian sought to intercept Tisienus, but lost his way around Mount Myconium. He passed the night there without tents. There was a heavy rainfall, as often occurs in the autumn, and some of his armour-bearers held a Gallic shield over his head the whole night. Harsh mutterings and prolonged roars from Mount Etna were heard, accompanied by flames which lighted up the camp, so that the Germans sprang from their

An eruption of Etna

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[1] ἡσθείς is no doubt an error. The sense requires "annoyed," not "pleased."

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ἀναπηδᾶν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δέ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περὶ τῆς Αἴτνης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ἐν τοσοῖσδε παραδόξοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ῥύακα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστηνῶν γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνῃ παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφότεροι.

118. Γιγνομένων δ' ἀν' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἀψιμαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, Ταῦρον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου περικόπτειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας προκαταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμνων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκρινε μάχῃ μείζονι κριθῆναι περὶ ἁπάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πεζὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεδίει, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος ἤρετο πέμπων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχίᾳ κριθῆναι. ὁ δὲ ὠρρώδει μὲν τὰ ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι δεῦρο κεχρημένος αὐτοῖς, αἰσχρὸν δὲ νομίσας ἀντειπεῖν ἐδέχετο. καὶ ὡρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακόσιαι νῆες ἑκατέρων ἰδίᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη τε παντοῖα φέρουσαι καὶ πύργους καὶ μηχανάς, ὅσας ἐπενόουν. ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἅρπαγα ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ξύλον πεντάπηχυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον, κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἑκατέρας· τῶν δὲ κρίκων εἴχετο τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἅρπαξ, σιδήριον καμπύλον, τοῦ δὲ καλῴδια πολλά, μηχαναῖς ἐπισπώμενα τὸν ἅρπαγα, ὅτε τῆς πολεμίας νεὼς ἐκ καταπέλτου λάβοιτο.

119. Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἐρετῶν ἅμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγ-

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beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if even the torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavian ravaged the territory of the Palaestenians, where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messana.

Pompeius challenges Octavian to a naval engagement; the challenge is accepted

118. As there had been many skirmishes throughout Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavian sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavian if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavian, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300 ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the "grip," a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the grip itself, an iron claw, to the other one numerous ropes, which drew it by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships.

A stubborn and protracted contest

119. When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed

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νυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ’ ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστά εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάξαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργοτέραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαί τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι· καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνη κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἅρπαξ, ἔκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλῳδίων ἐφέλκοιτο ὀπίσω· κοπῆναί τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὔπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτουσι τὰ καλῴδια ἐποίει. οὐδὲ τὸ μηχάνημά πω προέγνωστο, ὡς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι· ἓν δ’ ἐπενόουν ὡς ἐν ἀδοκήτῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ ποιούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἴση μὲν ἦν ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἅρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.

120. Ὅτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθήλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁμοίως εὔπορον· ὅπλοις τε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῇ, τά τε συνθήματα μιγνυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξενήνεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι

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against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the combatants and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power; the generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The "grip" achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, as soon as the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the grip did its work.

120. Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers

CAP. XII παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντας ἀλλήλων ἐπεῖχεν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γεμούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα πεῖραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ· τούτου δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἑκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφεώρων, ὡς ἐν τῇδε καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διέκρινόν γε μὴν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες, οἷα νεῶν ἑξακοσίων ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκατέρωθεν.

121. Μόλις δέ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναις διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεὶς πλεονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὡς ἤδη κατορθοῦντας· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὖθις ἐμπεσὼν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τούς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἑπτακαίδεκα νῆες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, αἱ μὲν ἐξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὁρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ ὁρμιζομένας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνεπίμπρασαν· ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γιγνόμενα κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδοσαν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠλάλαξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνῴμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν

frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other, what with the fighting and the sea, now a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships; for they left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other. CHAP. XII

121. Judging from the colours of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavian who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself,

Agrippa gains the victory

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Ναυλόχων ἀναθορὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἠπείγετο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ' ἐπισκήψας· ὅθεν καὶ τούσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισιηνοῦ παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἱππάρχων παραδιδόντων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες Καίσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέχθησαν ἢ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὀκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν· αἱ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα μόναι διέφυγον.

122. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὁδῷ περὶ τῆς μεταγνώμης τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τήν τε ἐσθῆτα ἤλλαξεν ἐς ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος καὶ προύπεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ δυνατά· παρεσκεύαστο δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ πολλοῦ. Πλένιόν τε ἐκ Λιλυβαίου, μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν ὀκτὼ τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς μετὰ τῶνδε φευξόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἠπείγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτομολούντων δὲ ἑτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἐσπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένιον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένῃ, ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισεσωκώς. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην παρῆλθε καὶ κατεῖχε τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, Ἀγρίππαν δ' ἐκέλευσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέζεσθαι· καὶ παρεκάθητο σὺν Λεπίδῳ. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ σπονδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἠξίου περιμένειν Καίσαρα

CHAP. XII

Pompeius flees to Messana

darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, giving not even orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavian received the surrender of these also at the hands of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavian's ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped.

122. Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on shipboard everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plenius from Lilybaeum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plenius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait even for Plenius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, remembering that he had saved his mother in similar circumstances. After his departure Plenius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavian himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plenius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival

He departs from Sicily

CAP. XII ἐς ἕω, Λέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πλενίου στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχώρει διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ.

XIII

CAP. XIII Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἧς δὴ καὶ μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὑρόμενοι, τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου διήρπαζον καὶ μετεστρατεύοντο τῷ Λεπίδῳ· 123. ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο καὶ κρατήσειν ἐδόκει Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχων, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίη τῆς νήσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγοιτο· ἔς τε τὰ φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ πάντα ἐκρατύνετο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐμέμφετο τῷ Λεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων, οἳ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἔφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρι ἐς Σικελίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ ἀντενεκάλει τῆς προτέρας τάξεως ἀφῃρῆσθαι καὶ μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν Καίσαρα βουλομένῳ τε νῦν ἀντιδιδόναι Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, ὀνειδιῶν τὸν Λέπιδον ἐς χαριστίαν, διαπειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα αἵ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥρμουν ἐπ'

CHAP. XII

Lepidus plunders Messana

of Octavian, but Lepidus granted terms, and in order to conciliate the soldiers of Plenius to himself allowed them to join the rest of the army in plundering the city.

XIII

CHAP. XIII

THESE had asked for nothing but safety, and now, finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves under his standards. 123. Including this new accession, Lepidus now had twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry; so that he was elated, and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using the pretext that he was the first to invade the island and that he had induced many cities to join the triumvirs. He sent word at once to the garrisons of these places that they should not admit the emissaries of Octavian, and he seized all the defiles. Octavian arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus through friends, who reminded him that he had come into Sicily as an ally of Octavian, not to acquire it for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in the exclusive possession of Octavian, and that, if the latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and Sicily for that former allotment. Octavian, exasperated, came also in person to Lepidus in anger and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forthwith surrounded themselves with guards, and the ships of Octavian were anchored away from the

Lepidus lays claim to Sicily

CAP. XIII ἀγκυρῶν· ἐλέχθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπινοεῖν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐμπρῆσαι.

124. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθετο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αὖθις ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἕτερον καὶ οὔ ποτε σφᾶς ἐπιλείψουσιν αἱ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ Καίσαρα καὶ Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς αὐτὸν ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἡσσημένοις καταστάντες. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυνθανόμενος περιέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ συμφέροντα παραινέσοντας κρύφα ἑκάστοις. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ διεφθάρατο πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ γενόμενοι τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπονδὰς βεβαίους σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι ταῦτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι' ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, οὓς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπὼν ἐσῄει μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ παριὼν ἐπεμαρτύρετο ἑκάστοις ἄκων ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ὁρώντων, οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ πρῶτοι συνέθεον, ὅσοι διεφθάρατο, καὶ συγγνῶναι σφίσι παρεκάλουν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, εἰ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντες οὐ πράσσουσιν οὔπω τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντες αὐτίκα ἥρπαζον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ σκηνὰς ἔλυον ἕτεροι.

125. Καὶ τοῦ θορύβου Λέπιδος αἰσθόμενος ἐξέθορε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. βολαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ὁπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἔπιπτε,

shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them. CHAP. XIII

124. The soldiers were angry at the thought that they were to engage in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavian and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavian, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus; they also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavian learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavian did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavian came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while others began to take down their tents.

Octavian tampers with his troops

125. When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were already exchanged and one of Octavian's armour-bearers was

Conflict in Lepidus' camp

CAP. XIII

καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη· τὸ δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἐξίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. Λεπίδου δέ τι φρούριον ἐπετώθασε τῷ δρόμῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ καθελεῖν. ἑτέρων δ' αὖ φρουρίων ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτός, μετετίθεντο ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καίσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνευ τινὸς πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ἱππέων μικρὰ ἐνοχληθέντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὰς προσβολὰς ἔτι ὑπέμενον καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος περιέπεμπεν ἐς πάντα ἐπικούρους· καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατιά, καὶ εἴ τις εὔνους ἔτι ἦν, ἐτρέπετο τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὖθις οἱ Πομπηιανοί, ὅσοι ἔτι ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, μετεπήδων κατὰ μέρη· Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐφοπλίσαντος, οἳ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὁπλισάμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγοντο σημεῖα καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἠπείλει καὶ ἐδεῖτο καὶ τῶν σημείων εἴχετο καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν φερόντων αὐτά τις εἶπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δείσας μεθῆκεν.

126. Οἱ δὲ ἱππέες τελευταῖοι χωροῦντες ἔπεμψάν τινα πευσόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι Λέπιδον, οὐκέτι ὄντα αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπεν. οὕτω Λέπιδος, ἀδοκήτῳ πάντων ἀπιστίᾳ συμπεσών, ἔρημος ἐκ τύχης τοσῆσδε καὶ στρατοῦ

CHAP. XIII

killed. Octavian himself was struck by a weapon on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavian was so angry that he could not restrain himself from cutting them off with horsemen and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavian, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reinforcements in all directions; but when these also went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him, transferring themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed the other body to prevent them from going, but the very men who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavian with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up, until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go.

His soldiers desert him

126. The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavian to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus Lepidus found himself deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He

CAP. XIII

τοσοῦδε ἐγίγνετο ἐν βραχεῖ. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλάξας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα δρόμῳ, συντρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θέᾳ τῶν ὁρώντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῷ προσθέοντι καὶ προσπεσεῖν ἐθέλοντα κωλύσας ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος, ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλὴν ἱερέα ἧς εἶχεν ἱερωσύνης.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος ἄρχοντάς τε ἀποφήνας καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοσούσδε ὁμοτίμους, ἰδιωτεύων καὶ ἐνίοις τῶν προγραφέντων ἄρχουσιν ὕστερον παριστάμενος διεβίωσε. 127. Πομπήιον δὲ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδίωκεν οὐδ' ἑτέροις ἐπέτρεπε διώκειν, εἴτε ὡς ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντωνίου φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καραδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ Ἀντωνίου καὶ πρόφασιν ἕξων διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίγνοιτο (οὐ γὰρ ἀνύποπτοί γε ἦσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἀλλήλοις διερίσειν), εἴθ', ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὕστερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνος ὁ Πομπήιος. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνῆγε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν ὁπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἱππέες δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, κοῦφοι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακραί τε νῆες ἑξακόσιαι· τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίδων πλῆθος, καίπερ ὂν ἄπειρον, τοῖς δεσπόταις διέπεμπε. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινικίοις ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἤδη διδούς, τά δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἅπασιν ἔνεμεν καὶ συγγνώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ Πομπηίου.

128. Ζήλου δὲ αὐτῷ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ

CHAP. XIII

He is deposed from his command

changed his costume and hastened to Octavian, all the spectators running with him to enjoy the spectacle. Octavian started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priesthood, which he held.

Octavian does not pursue Pompeius

And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favours of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period. 127. Octavian neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavian said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse and some 40,000 light-armed troops, with 600 war-ships; he had also an immense number of merchant-vessels, which nevertheless he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honours to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

128. With all this success he was prosperous

CAP. XIII

δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσησε τοῦ ζήλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐστασίασεν, ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθῆναί τε τῆς στρατείας ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισαμένοις. ὁ δὲ ᾔδει μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὑπισχνεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευομένοις, ὅτε κἀκεῖνος ἀφίκηται. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀστρατείας ὑπεμίμνησκε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὅρκων καὶ κολάσεων. οὐκ εὐπειθῶς δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὑφῆκε τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ἵνα μή τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπιγένοιτο θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τε ἀπολύσειν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι, πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλουτιεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὖθις στρατεύσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν προτέρων λαβεῖν γέρα τε καὶ τιμάς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὰς τιμὰς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δοὺς προστιθέναι στεφάνους ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχοις περιπορφύρους ἐσθῆτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος ἕτερα, ὑπεφώνησε χιλίαρχος Ὀφίλλιος στεφάνους μὲν καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ

CHAP. XIII

Mutiny in the army

beyond words, and of his great prosperity Fortune became jealous. His army revolted, especially his own troops. They demanded to be discharged from the service and that rewards should be given them equal to those given to the men who fought at Philippi. Octavian knew that the present war had not been of the same grade as that one. He promised nevertheless to pay what their services were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when he too should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honours of the previous wars. He said that he would not even now postpone the honours, but that he had distributed many prizes, and now gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity of chief councillors in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the tribune Ofillius exclaimed that crowns and purple garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards

Octavian appears and rewards his troops

CAP. XIII

γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα· καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος, ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγοι, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν χιλίαρχον ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενοι. ὁ δ' ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω δικαίοις.

Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τόδε εἰπὼν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀφανὴς ἦν, καὶ οὐδ', ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο· 129. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μέν, ὑπὸ δέους, οὐδεὶς καθ' ἕνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δ' ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συνιστάμενοι, ἀφεθῆναι τῶν στρατειῶν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐξωμίλει ποικίλως, τῶν δ' ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσαμένων, ὡς χρονιωτέρων ἄρα ὄντων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρατεύεσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐς δισμυρίους εὐθὺς ἀπέλυε καὶ ἐξέπεμπε τῆς νήσου, μὴ διαφθείραιεν ἑτέρους, τοσόνδε τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπών, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυθεῖσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας ἐμαρτύρετο τῆς ἐπιορκίας, οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ἐπήνει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἀπολύσειν μὲν ταχέως, ὅτε μηδενὶ μετανοήσει, καταπλουτιεῖν δὲ ἀπολύων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἑκάστῳ. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελίᾳ μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξακόσια, στρατηγοὺς δ' ἀπέφαινε Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐς ἑκατέραν διήρει καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς Ἀντωνίου διέπεμπεν ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ

CHAP. XIII

for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude cried out "Well said"; whereupon Octavian descended from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered round the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them, and the tribune said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause. After saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him.

129. The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavian conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolters, who had been dismissed not by the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would regret it, that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed propraetors for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he

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τὸν μὲν προύπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν, τὸν δ' ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου διεπέρα.

130. Ἐρχομένῳ δ' ἥ τε βουλὴ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο ἀμέτρους, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτήν, ἢ πάσας λαβεῖν ἢ ὅσας δοκιμάσειε· καὶ ὑπήντων ὅτι πορρωτάτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανωμένοι ἔς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπιόντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης αὐτὸς ἐβουληγόρησέ τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐς τότε καταλέγων· καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε. κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν, ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνῃρημένων, καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν τοὺς ἔτι ὀφείλοντας ἀπέλυε καὶ φόρων τελώνας τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα ἔχοντας ὧν ἔτι ὀφείλοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομηνιαν εἶναι, καθ' ἃς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἑστάναι μετὰ σχήματος οὗπερ ἔχων εἰσῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίονι νεῶν ἐμβόλων. καὶ ἕστηκεν ἡ εἰκών, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὅτι "τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν".

131. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἣν ἕνα ἔχειν νενόμισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κτείνειν τὸν Λέπιδον ὡς πολέμιον κελευόντων οὐκ ἠνείχετο. ἐς δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα σεσημασμένας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντας ἀνειλήσαντας αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς

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He returns to Italy

sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

Unbounded honours bestowed on him at Rome

130. When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honours, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and published in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honours voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column covered with the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription:—

"PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE RE-ESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA."

He refuses to punish Lepidus

131. When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed on one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a day designated and to execute the orders contained

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κεκελευσμένοις. καὶ ἦν τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα περὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσοι παρὰ τὴν στάσιν ἀποδράντες ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ᾐτήκει Πομπήιος, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι δεδώκεσαν. οἱ δὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας συνελαμβάνοντο. καὶ ἀχθέντας αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ Σικελιώταις. ὅσους δ' οὐκ ἦν ὁ ληψόμενος, ἔκτεινε παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἀπέδρασεν.

132. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἐδόκει τέλος εἶναι. καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυον. λῃστευομένης δὲ κατὰ συστάσεις τῆς τε Ῥώμης αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιφανῶς καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἁρπαγῇ μετὰ τόλμης ἢ λῃστείᾳ λανθανούσῃ μᾶλλον ἐοικότων, Σαβῖνος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἱρεθεὶς εἰς διόρθωσιν πολὺν μὲν εἰργάσατο φθόρον τῶν ἁλισκομένων, ἐνιαυτῷ δ' ὅμως εἰς εἰρήνην ἀφύλακτον ἅπαντα περιήγαγε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶ παραμεῖναι τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἔθος τε καὶ εἶδος. θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐξ ἀδοκήτου διωρθωμένῳ πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε, καὶ τὴν ἐντελῆ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ παραγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κἀκεῖνον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εὐφημοῦντες εἵλοντο δήμαρχον ἐς ἀεί, διηνεκεῖ ἄρα

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therein. These orders related to slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavian returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded.

Robbery suppressed

132. This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavian was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavian to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavian excited astonishment by putting an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the country. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would restore the constitution entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual

Octavian chosen tribune for life

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ἀρχῇ προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀποστῆναι. ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο μὲν καὶ τήνδε, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύβλον ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ἔπεμπε καὶ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπενόει συστρατεύειν.

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133. Πομπήιος δ' ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄκρᾳ Λακινίᾳ προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἥρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασιν ἐσύλησε, φεύγων ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ἐς δὲ Μιτυλήνην καταχθεὶς διέτριβεν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο ὁ πατήρ, Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι πολεμῶν, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν Μηδίᾳ Μήδοις τε καὶ Παρθυαίοις, γνώμην ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπύθετο ἡσσῆσθαι Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἡ φήμη μειζόνως μετέφερεν, αὖθις ἦν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ὡς ἢ διαδεξόμενος Ἀντώνιον, εἰ τέθνηκεν, ἢ μεριούμενος ἐπανελθόντι· ἐνθύμιός τέ οἱ συνεχὲς ἦν Λαβιηνὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιδραμών. ὧδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλλεται Ἀντώνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελθών. καὶ τεχνάζων ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα διεπρεσβεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ καὶ φίλον εἶναι διδοὺς καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ

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magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference to the government. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavian. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavian had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

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Sextus Pompeius flees to Antony

133. Pompeius, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Caesar, had bestowed him with his mother, while still a boy, and after his defeat had joined him again. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to entrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been beaten, and this result was more than confirmed by reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming for both objects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter's disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information about Antony's affairs. At the

He forms plans to assist or supersede him

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τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκεπτόμενος. ἔς τε Θρᾴκην καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμπεν ἑτέρους κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ κρατεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμουμένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Παρθυαίους, ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτοὺς δέξεσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖόν τε καὶ παῖδα Μάγνου μάλιστα. τάς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς στρατὸν ἐγύμναζεν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἢ δεδιέναι Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

134. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου, στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τίτιον ᾕρητο καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε πολεμοῦντι μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπιτρέποντα δὲ αὑτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀγγέλλουσιν οὕτως· "ἡμᾶς Πομπήιος ἔπεμψεν οὐκ ἀπορῶν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, διαπλεῦσαι, φίλην οὖσαν αὐτῷ πατρόθεν καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὄντι νεωτέρῳ καὶ καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν, αἱρούμενος δὲ εἰρηνεύειν τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεήσειεν, ὑπὸ σοί. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἔτι κρατῶν Σικελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοι τὴν σὴν μητέρα περισώσας ἔπεμπε, προύτεινε. καὶ εἰ ἐδέξω, οὔτ' ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς κατ' αὐτοῦ παρέ-

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same time he sent others secretly to the princes of Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not obtain what he desired from Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavian, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony.

Antony sends Titius against him

134. As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honour if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the messengers who had arrived, and addressed him as follows:

Pompeius embassy

"Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he cannot take refuge (if he were minded to continue the war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account, which espoused his own cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, and, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavian with ships against him), nor would you have been

CAP. XIV σχες), οὔτ᾽ ἂν σὺ ἥττησο ἐν Παρθυαίοις, Καίσαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαντος, ὃν συνέθετο· ἐκράτεις δ᾽ ἂν ἤδη πρὸς οἷς εἶχες καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενος δέ σε ταῦτα, ἐν καιρῷ τότε μάλιστ᾽ ἄν σοι γενόμενα, ἀξιοῖ καὶ νῦν μὴ πολλάκις ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι λόγοις τε καὶ τῷ γενομένῳ κήδει, μνημονεύοντα, ὅτι Πομπηίῳ τε κηδεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέμησεν ἄνευ προφάσεως, καὶ Λέπιδον κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος ἀφείλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα αὐτῶν ἐνείματό σοι.

135. "Λοιπὸς δ᾽ ἐς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρχίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπῃ· ἤδη γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἦν, εἰ μὴ Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τάδε εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, προφέρει δέ σοι καὶ Πομπήιος ὑπὸ εὐνοίας, αἱρούμενος ἄνδρα ἄκακον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε καὶ δολεροῦ καὶ φιλοτέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμφεταί σοι τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἔδωκας ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκης ἀντιλαβεῖν στρατὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους δεόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπομιμνήσκει, τὸν οὐ πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, Πομπήιος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει σοι μετὰ τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἔτι ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστοτάτου γε ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταλιπόντος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν Μάγνου παῖδα περισῴζοις, πολεμοῦντι δὲ μοῖραν ἱκανὴν ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὔπω παρόντα."

defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavian not CHAP. XIV sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavian's words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against him after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also deprived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, and divided neither part of it with you.

135. "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for: indeed he would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of good-will, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavian against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you of that army which was not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, in fact is as good as come."

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136. Τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξέφερεν, ἃς ἐντείλαιτο Τιτίῳ· καὶ εἰ τῷ ὄντι ταῦτα φρονοίη Πομπήιος, ἥξειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθυαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤχθησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπηίου πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς ληφθέντας αὐτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὣς παρῃτοῦντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέους, εἰ ἄρα μὴ προσοῖτο φιλίως αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγκασθέντα καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθίστων ἀποπειρᾶσαι· δηλώσειν τ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι πείρας ἢ μηχανῆς δεόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευσεν, ὢν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἁπλοῦς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

137. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐδέχετο, οὔτε κωλύειν ἀξιόμαχος ὢν οὔτε πω τὴν γνώμην εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀντωνίου· γυμνάζοντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν κατέλεγέ τινας ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἄρχοντα γείτονος στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἑτέρωθεν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν. συνελθόντων δ' ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμιον ἡγοῦνται τὸν πρέσβεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλκότα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου περιμένοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων Ἀηνόβαρβον ὅμως ἐπενόει συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας Κουρίου τινὸς

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136. When the messengers had thus spoken, Antony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius, and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of mind he would be coming in person under the escort of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alexandria. After Antony had examined each of them he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and showed the captives to them. They made excuses for Pompeius even then as a young man in a desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They said that he would show his true disposition as soon as he should learn Antony's, and would then need no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them, being in other respects and at all times of a frank, magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature.

Antony captures the envoys of Pompeius to the Parthians

B.C. 35

137. In the meantime Furnius, who was governing the province of Asia for Antony, had received Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to prevent him and did not yet know Antony's mind. Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he mustered a force from the provincials and hastily summoned Ahenobarbus, who had command of an army in the vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side. They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and was waiting for an answer from him. While he was saying this he was meditating the project of seizing Ahenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of

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τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἕξειν μοῖραν Ἀηνόβαρβον. γνωσθείσης δ' οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κούριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Πομπήιος δὲ Θεόδωρον ἐξελεύθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνῄδει τὸ βούλευμα, ὡς ἐξειπόντα ἔκτεινεν. οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον λήσειν ἐλπίσας, Λάμψακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἣ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἰταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Γαΐου Καίσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγάλοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτευε τοὺς Ἰταλούς. ἤδη δὲ ἔχων ἱππέας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τρία τέλη, ἐπεχείρησε Κυζίκῳ κατά τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσαντο· καὶ γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς Ἀντωνίῳ, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τρεφομένων αὐτῷ μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ἐπανελθὼν ἐσιτολόγει.

138. Φουρνίου δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, ἀεὶ δ' αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ σιτολογεῖν οὐκ ἐῶντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ὁ Πομπήιος ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχων ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν ἐκ περιόδου λαθών. ὅθεν ὁ Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεστραμμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου διώκων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκτεινε πολλούς· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεδίον ὑγρὸν ἐξ ὄμβρων. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι. προσδεχομένων δὲ ἀπό τε Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος

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Double dealing of Pompeius discovered

Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, placed there as colonists by Gaius Caesar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because Antony had a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbour of the Achaeans and collected provisions.

He begins hostilities against Antony's lieutenants

138. Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain, which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew for the time to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While those who, impoverished by continual exactions, enlisted gladly

CAP. XIV καὶ ἑτέρωθεν, οἱ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς εἰσφορὰς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ δόξαν μάλιστα τῆς ἐν 'Αχαιῶν λιμένι γενομένης νίκης, ἱππικοῦ δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ βλαπτόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, ἐπύθετο ἴλην ἱππέων 'Ιταλικὴν ἐς 'Αντώνιον χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ 'Οκταουίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν 'Αθήναις ἀπεσταλμένην· καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπέ τινας ἐς διαφθορὰν τῆς ἴλης μετὰ χρυσίου.

'Αλλὰ τούσδε μὲν ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡγούμενος 'Αντωνίῳ συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι διένειμεν· 139. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Νίκαιάν τε καὶ Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐς μεγάλα ταχέως αὐτῷ πάντα ηὔξετο παρ' ἐλπίδα. Φουρνίῳ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν παραστρατοπεδεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἧκον ἐκ Σικελίας, ἦρος ἀρχομένου, νῆες ἑβδομήκοντα, ὅσαι περιεσώθησαν ἐξ ὧν 'Αντώνιος ἐκεχρήκει κατὰ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι (μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὰς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσεν), ἧκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος ἑτέραις ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ κατῆραν ἅπαντες ἐς Προκόννησον. δείσας οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ὥπλισεν, ὡς ἄμεινον ὁμοῦ πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν γῆν συνοισόμενος. Κάσσιος δὲ ὁ Παρμήσιος καὶ Νασίδιος καὶ Σατορνῖνος καὶ Θέρμος καὶ 'Αντίστιος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἔτι τῷ Πομπηίῳ παρῆσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος αὐτῷ Φάννιος καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου Λίβων ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ Τιτίου παρόντος, ὅτῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν 'Αντώνιος ἐπέτρεπε, παυόμενον τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνονα πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ

under Pompeius especially on account of the reputation he had gained by his victory at the harbour of the Achaeans, were awaiting help from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, Pompeius, deficient in cavalry, and thus crippled in procuring supplies, learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to corrupt this troop. CHAP. XIV

Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and distributed their gold to the cavalry: 139. but Pompeius took Nicea and Nicomedia, from which he obtained large supplies of money, and his strength was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was camping not far away from him, was reinforced, at the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those that Antony had lent to Octavian against Pompeius; for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavian had dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with 120 additional ships and a large army; and all these had landed at Proconnesus. So Pompeius became alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better advantage with all of his forces combined on land. Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius, who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not desist from war against superior forces even after Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had

Antony sends reinforcements against him

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πράξαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον μετῆλθον.

140. Ὁ δ' ἔρημος ὢν ἤδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει, λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπείγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτόν, νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξαντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίωκεν ὅ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀμύντας. συντόνῳ δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἑσπέραν καταλαβόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινί, ἄνευ τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ κόπῳ. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν εὐναζομένους ἔτι καὶ ἀναπηδῶντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν αἰσχρῶς ἔφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἢ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενομένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατῆσαι. νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ὑπερεῖδε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τοιῷδε πλέον ἢ αὖθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον ἐχώρει· οἱ δ' ἁλισθέντες εἵποντο καὶ σιτολογοῦντα ἠνώχλουν, ἕως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἠξίωσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γεγενομένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιοτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

141. Ποταμὸν δ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν ἔλεγε μέν, ὅτι πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπετίθει δ', ὅτι τροφῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, τάδε ἐργάσαιτο. "ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ πολεμεῖτέ μοι, κακῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βουλεύεται, τὸν ἐπιόντα πόλεμον οὐ

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arrived, despaired of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony.

A night battle

140. Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight completely naked. It is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by some evil genius, he let slip these opportunities also, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut him off from supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others.

Pompeius offers to surrender to Furnius, who refuses to accept him

141. Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and they supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you fight against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the

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142. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Τιτίῳ μὲν ἀχαριστίας ὠργίζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμέμῳ πολεμήσειν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἁλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον περισεσώκει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἠδόξει, Πομπήιος ὤν, ἐπὶ Τιτίῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ πάνυ ἀνδρί, καὶ ὑπώπτευεν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ βέβαιον ἔς τε τὸν τρόπον ὑπονοῶν καί τινα συγγινώσκων ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν παλαιὰν πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. Φουρνίῳ δ' αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε καὶ δέξασθαι

coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's intentions, I protest and implore you to wait for the embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone, Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus because he had confidence in Antony as a man of generous nature, and he apprehended merely that something might happen to him on the journey. Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wish to surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war you should have done as you have done; for why is it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows them? If now you repent, do not bring us, generals, into collision with each other, but surrender yourself to Titius, to whom these matters have been entrusted by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honourable manner." CHAP XIV

142. Pompeius was angry with Titius for his ingratitude, in that he undertook to wage this war against him, for he had once been taken prisoner and spared by Pompeius. Besides being angry he considered it beneath his dignity that a Pompeius should be in the power of Titius, who was not of noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either because he was acquainted with his character and did not consider him trustworthy, or because he was conscious of some old injury done to him previous to the benefaction above mentioned. Again

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παρεκάλει. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντᾳ ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειν. τοῦ Φουρνίου δὲ φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἂν δέξασθαι τόδε ὕβριν ἔχον ἐς τὸν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένον, διελύθησαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα ἦν, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδώσει τῷ Τιτίῳ· ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς σαλπιγκτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς νυκτός, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος, ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἷς οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν, οἷ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ' ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθὼν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Τιτίου ναυτικόν. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον ἐμήνυσε καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ᾔδει. τότε δὴ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν Ἀμύντας ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα. καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου πλησιάσαντα μετεχώρουν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερῶς. μονούμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ δεδιὼς ἤδη τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἀμύντᾳ, ὁ Τιτίῳ μετὰ σπονδῶν ἀδοξήσας.

143. Οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Πομπήιος Σέξστος, ὁ λοιπὸς ἔτι παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, νεώτερος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μειράκιον ἤδη, λαθὼν δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐς πολὺ καὶ κρύφα λῃστεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συνδραμόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπηίου

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Pompeius refuses to surrender to Titius

he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and begged that he would receive him. When the latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had entrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not previously been advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

143. Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made

CAP. XIV παῖδα, ἐλῄστευέ τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἤγειρε πολὺν καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ νήσους εἷλε, καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὰς δύσεις θαλάσσης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιήνεγκεν ἐς λιμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις, ἃς ἤθελε. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει πανώλεθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περιέσωσεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλούς, οἳ τότε δι' αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς οὔ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ τῆς τύχης εὔκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ' ἠμύνετο μόνον.

144. Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιόσδε γενόμενος ἑαλώκει, Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστράτευσεν Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκανεν, εἴτε δι' αὑτοῦ, μηνίων ἄρα τῆς ποτὲ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀχάριστος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα εὐεργεσίαν γενόμενος, εἴτε καὶ ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντωνίου. εἰσὶ δ' οἵ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγράφειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγῖδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ Πλάγκον δὲ γράψαι νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν συνειδότος Ἀντωνίου καὶ αἰδουμένου γράψαι διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὔνως ἔχουσαν τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγνον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ φυλαξάμενον, μὴ τὴν αἰσίαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδῶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Πομπηίῳ συνεργοῦσα ἀνατρέψαιεν.

himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Caesar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his enemies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most importance was the aid that he rendered in the proscriptions to Rome when exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with some strange aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities; he only defended himself. CHAP. XIV

144. After such a career Pompeius was taken prisoner. Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Some think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favourable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the co-operation of Cleopatra, should disturb the auspicious respect between Antony and Octavian.

CAP. XIV

145. Ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ αὖθις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἐστράτευε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριούς, οἳ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντές πω Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀποστάντες. καί μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς γενόμενά μοι γνώριμα οὔτε συντελοῦντα μῆκος ἰδίας συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν ἔχοντα ἑτέρωθι λεχθῆναι, τοῦ χρόνου, καθ᾽ ὃν ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐς τέλος, προαναγράψαι καὶ ὑποθεῖναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὁμόρῳ Μακεδονικῇ.

CHAP. XIV

145. After the death of Pompeius Antony made a new expedition to Armenia, and Octavian made one against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom had never been subject to the Romans, while others had revolted during the civil wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well known to me, and are not of sufficient length to make a book by themselves, and have no suitable place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them above (beginning with the time when Illyria was acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to the end),[1] and added them to the history of Macedonia, which marches with Illyria.

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[1] The meaning is doubtful.

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Caesaras, Lusitanian chief, Sp. 56.

Caesennius, C., Philo, proscribed, C. IV, 27.

Caesetius, tribune, C. II, 108, 122; IV, 93.

Caieta, town on sea-coast, where Cicero was killed, C. IV, 19.

Calaguris, of Spain, C. I, 112.

Calatia, colony of Caesar, C. III, 40.

Calatis, town of Moesia, Il. 30.

Caleni, in Campania, intercede for Sittius, C. IV, 47.

Calidius, messenger from the Senate to Murena, Mi. 65.

Callias, freedman of Antony, C. V, 93.

Callidromus, mountain at Thermopylae, Sy. 17.

Calliope, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.

Callipolis, town of Aetolia, Sy. 21; a town of Syria, 57.

Calor, river near Beneventum, H. 36.

Calpurnia, wife of Caesar, C. II, 14, 116; her dream, 115.

Calpurnius Piso, praetor in Spain put to flight by the Lusitanians, Sp. 56; as consul wages war unsuccessfully in Africa, Pu. 109, 113.

Calpurnius Piso, L., Caesar's father-in-law, C. II, 14, 135 *sq.*; brings Caesar's body into the forum, 143; defends Antony against Cicero, III, 50, 54.

Calvisius, C. Sabinus, prefect of the fleet for Octavian, C. V, 80; fights with Menecrates, 81 *sq.*; deposed from command, 96 (in C. II, 60, in error for Longinus or Calvinus).

Calycadnus, promontory of Cilicia, Sy. 39.

Camels, Arab bowmen ride on, Sy. 32.

Cameria, town of Italy, C. V, 50.

Camillus, It. VIII, 1; exiled, 2; dictator, *ib.*; G. V; vanquishes the Gauls, G. I, 1; H. 8; C. II, 50.

Camillus, son of preceding, G. I, 2.

Camillus, Gallic chief, puts Decimus Brutus to death, C. III, 98.

Campania, H. 36; C. III, 40; devastated by Hannibal, H. 49; fertile territory of, 43.

Campus Martius, C. I, 89; II, 92; III, 94; V, 16; kings buried in, I, 106; also Sulla, *ib.*

Cannae, battle of, H. 19 *sq.*

Cannutius, Tiberius, tribune, brings Octavian into the city, C. III, 41; is killed, V, 49.

Cantabrians, Spanish people, Sp. 80.

Canuleius, Q., tribune of the people, C. I, 33.

Canusium, town of Apulia, H. 24, 26; C. I, 84 (perhaps error for Casilinum); V, 57; rebels against the Romans, I, 42; besieged by Cosconius, 52.

Capito, a proscript, slays those sent to kill him, C. IV, 25.

Capitol, Pu. 66; C. I, 73; II, 148; III, 39; where the Senate was accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war, Pu. 75; comitia for choosing tribunes held there, C. I, 15; Tiberius Gracchus slain there, C. I, 2, 15 *sq.*; burned, I, 83, 86; occupied by Caesar's assassins, II, 120, 137.

Cappadocia, tributary to Alexander the Great, Mi. 8; part of, called Seleucis, subject to Seleucus, Sy. 55; acquired by Mithridates Ctistes, Mi. 9; separated from Pontus, 9, 12; acquired by Mithridates Eupator, 12, 112; by Ariobarzanes, 60, 67, 105, 114; invaded by Tigranes, 67; Roman province, 105, 118; to which is added Lesser Armenia, 105; Cappadocians among the allies of Pompey, C. II, 49; Antony imposes tribute upon, V, 7; Ariarathes contends with Sisenna for kingdom of, *ib.*

Capua, city of Campania, C. I, 56, 63, 64, 85, 116; II, 29, 37; III, 40; V, 24; besieged by the Romans, relieved by Hanno, H. 36; besieged a second time by Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius, 37 *sq.*; surrenders to the Romans, 43; promised as prize to soldiers by the triumvirs, C. IV, 3.

Capys, grandfather of Aeneas, K. I, 1.

Capys Silvius, king of the Latins, K. I, 2.

Caravis, town of Spain, Sp. 43.

Carchedon, founder of Carthage, Pu. 1.

Cardia, town of Chersonesus, C. IV, 88.

Caria, Sy. 52; given by the Romans to the Rhodians, but soon taken back, 44; added to the Roman sway, Mi. 118.

Carinas, lieutenant of Carbo, vanquished by Metellus, C. I, 87; besieged by Pompey and Crassus, 90; vanquished by Sulla and killed, 92.

Carinas, sent by Caesar against Sextus Pompeius in Spain, C. IV, 83; V, 26; while governing Spain for Octavian is attacked by Bocchus, V, 26, 54; commands three legions in war in Sicily against Sextus Pompeius, V, 112.

Carisius, T., lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 111.

Carmona, town of Spain, Sp. 25, 27, 58.

Carni, Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.

Carpessus, town of Spain, Sp. 2, 63; its inhabitants, 51, 64, 70, 83.

Carsuleius (perh. Carpulenus), lieutenant of Caesar, C. III, 66.

Carthage, founded, Pu. 1; stands seven hundred years, 2, 132; inhabitants ordered to yield city to the Romans, 81; site of, 95; harbour, 96; suburb Megara, 117; destroyed by Scipio, 136; C. I, 24; G. Gracchus proposes to found colony on former site, Pu. 136; C. I, 24; Caesar leaves memorandum of his intention to do so, Pu. 136; carried into effect by Augustus, *ib.*

Carthaginians, Tyrian colony, Pu. 1, 89; their sway in Africa, 2; expeditions into Sicily, Sa. XI, 2; XII, 1; Pu. 2; into Sardinia, 2; into Spain, 2, 6; Sp. 3; war with African and Gallic mercenaries, Si. II, 3; Sp. 4; Pu. 5; first war with the Romans, Si. II, 2; Pu. 3 *sq.*; Sp. 3; second war with the Romans, Sp. 4; Pu. 6–66; third, 74 *sq.*; violators of treaties, Sp. 4; Pu. 6, 64; divided in factions among themselves, 70; deliver all their arms to the Romans, 80; make new

ones, 93; send aid to the Romans against three kings, 83; Sy. 22; defend city bravely, Pu. 98.
Carthago Spartagena, or New Carthage, in Spain, Sp. 12, 19, 75; taken by Scipio, 20 *sq.*
Carthalo, auxiliary commander of Carthage, Pu. 68, 74.
Carthalo, prefect of Tarentum, H. 49.
Casilinum, colony in Campania, C. III, 40, and see *Canusium.*
Casium (or Cassium), in Egypt, C. II, 84, 89.
Caspian sea, Mi. 103.
Cassander, son of Antipater, king of Macedonia, Sy. 53.
Cassius, Roman writer [L. Cassius Hemina], G. VI.
Cassius, Gaius Longinus, trained in Greek by Archelaus at Rhodes, C. IV, 65, 67; quaestor of Crassus, 59; after Pharsalus delivers himself and fleet to Caesar, C. II, 88 (Appian is in error), 111; city praetor, II, 112; III, 2; designated propraetor of Syria, *ib.*; IV, 57 *sq.*; Il. 13; conspires against Caesar, C. I, 4; IV, 91, 132; put in charge of corn supply, III, 6; IV, 57; provinces of Cyrene and Crete decreed to him in place of Syria, III, 7 *sq.*; IV, 57; Syria again voted to him by Senate with full power, III, 63; gains possession of twelve legions, IV, 59; wages war against Dolabella, III, 63, 78; IV, 60–62; tried and condemned under presidency of Octavian, III, 95; IV, 27; kills Ariobarzanes, IV, 63; captures Laodicea, 62; fines inhabitants of Tarsus, 64; makes war upon the Rhodians, 65–73; leads his forces into Thrace and Macedonia, 87 *sq.*; speech to the soldiers, 90 *sq.*; vanquished by Antony at Philippi and commits suicide, 111–113; character, 114, 123, 132 *sq.*
Cassius, L., proconsul of Asia, Mi. 11, 17, 24; captured by Mithridates, 112.
Cassius, L., ally of Catiline, C. II, 4.
Cassius, L., nephew of Gaius, C. IV, 135; another left in Syria, 63.
Cassius, Lucius, brother of Gaius, seeks pardon from Antony, C. V, 7.
Cassius, Q., tribune and friend of Caesar, C. II, 33; appointed prefect of Spain by Caesar, 43.
Cassius of Parma, C. V, 2, 139.
Castabala, town of Cilicia, Mi. 105.
Castax, town of Spain, Sp. 32.
Castor, the Argonaut, Mi. 103.
Castor, of Phanagoria, Mi. 108, 114.
Castor and Pollux, temple of, C. I, 25, 54; III, 41.
Castulo, city of Spain, Sp. 16.
Catiline, C. II, 2–7.
Cato, Porcius, consul, killed in Social War, C. I, 50.
Cato, the, book of Cicero, C, II. 99.
Cato Major, called Demosthenes on account of his eloquence, Sp. 39; proconsul in Spain, 39–41; orders Celtiberians to demolish walls of their towns, 41; sent as legate to Africa, expresses opinion that Carthage should be destroyed, Pu. 69; witticism concerning legation to Attalus, Mi. 6; lieutenant of Manius in war against Antiochus, Sy. 18; dislodges the Aetolians from Callidromus, 19.
Cato Minor, casts suspicion on Caesar as privy to Catiline's conspiracy, C. II, 6; salutes Cicero as Father of his Country, 7; denounces Caesar, 11; refuses to swear support to Caesar's laws, 12; holds that Caesar should be delivered up to the barbarians, G. XVIII; sent to Cyprus (Appian is in error), C. II, 23; yields Sicily to Caesar and goes to join Pompey, 40; refuses command offered in Africa, 87; has charge of Utica, 95 *sq.*; commits suicide, 99; lends his wife Marcia to Hortensius, *ib.*; his sister Servilia, 112.

Cato, son of preceding, C. II, 100; at Philippi, IV, 135; his sister Porcia wife of Brutus, 136.

Cauca, town of the Celtiberians, Sp. 51, 52, 89.

Caucaenus, leader of the Lusitanians, Sp. 57.

Caucasus, mount, Pr. 4, 9; Mi. 103.

Caudium, in Samnium, Sa. IV, 3.

Caunii, inhabitants of Caunus in Caria. Mi. 23; the Caunic wind, 26.

Cea, one of the Cyclades islands, C. V, 7.

Celtiberians, Sp. 1, 2, 54, etc.; Celtiberian war of the Romans, 43 *sq.*, 100; Pu. 68, 71; treaty of Gracchus with, 43 *sq.*; revolt from the Romans, Sp. 100; Celtiberian mercenaries employed against Hannibal, H. 30; enlisted by Hannibal in Spain, H. 4; take part in battle of Cannae, 20, 22; in army of Hasdrubal, 52; Sp. 24; in army of Mago, 31.

Celts, named from Celtus, Il. 2; Cimbri reckoned among the Celts, 4; C. I, 29; also Teutones, G. I, 2; called Gauls by the Romans and Galatians by the Greeks, Sp. 1; H. 4.

Censors by Caesar's direction fix price at which goods shall be taken for debts, C. II, 48.

Census, taken by Caesar, C. II, 102.

Centenius, slaughter of his army by Hannibal at the Plestine marsh, H. 11, 17.

Cephalenia, island of the Ionian sea, C. V, 25.

Ceraunian Mountains, in Epirus, C. II, 54.

Ceraunus, son of Ptolemy Soter, a fugitive, received by Seleucus, murders his benefactor, Sy. 62 *sq.*

Ceres, temple of, struck by lightning, C. I, 78.

Cestius, proscribed, C. IV, 26.

Cethegus, P., with Marius declared public enemy, C. I, 60, 63; turns to Sulla as a suppliant, 80.

Cethegus, fellow-conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 2, 3, 5 *sq.*, 15.

Chaeronea, city of Boeotia, Mi. 29; where Sulla overthrew Archelaus, 42–45.

Chalcedon, city of Bithynia, Mi. 52, 71.

Chalcis, city of Euboea, Sy. 20, 29; Mi. 31, 34, 42, 45, 51; one of the fetters of Greece, Ma. VIII.

Chalcis, citizens of, aid Antiochus against the Romans, Sy. 21; are driven from sea-coast of Thrace by Philip, C. IV, 102.

Chalcis, town of Syria, Sy. 57.

Chaldaean soothsayers, C. II, 153.

Chalybes, allies of Mithridates, Mi. 69.

Chaonia, part of Epirus, Il. 1.

Charis, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.

Chersonesus, Pontic, town of the Cimmerian Bosporus, Mi. 102, 108.

Chersonesus, Thracian, C. IV, 88; Sy. 1, 6, 21; occupied by the Scipios when abandoned by Antiochus, 58 *sq.*; seized by Mithridates, Mi. 13.

Chios, ambassadors of, Ma. III, 1; allies of Mithridates, Mi. 25; Mithridates angry with them, 25, 46 *sq.*; enrolled as allies by Sulla, 61; island of, Sy. 22; captured by Philip, Ma. IV.

Chotene, a prefecture of Armenia, Mi. 101; inhabitants of, *ib.*

Cicero, *see* Tullius.

Cilicia, Pr. 2; Sy. 1, 22; Mi. 8, 57, 75, 112; C. I, 77; V, 7, 8; Tigranes annexes a part of, Sy. 48; Mi. 105; added to Roman sway, Sy. 50; Mi. 106, 118; part given to Ariobarzanes by Pompey, 105; to Polemon by Antony, C. V, 75; Craggy Cilicia a stronghold of pirates, Mi. 92; surrenders to Pompey, 96.

Cilla, town of Africa, Pu. 40.

Cimber, *see* Tillius.

Cimbri, Celtic people, make an expedition against Delphi, Il. 4; make an incursion into Italy and Gaul, G. I, 2; C. I, 29; the Nervii descended from them, G. I, 4.

Cinambri, Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Cineas, ambassador of Pyrrhus, Sa. X, XI.
Cinna, C. Helvius, tribune and poet, torn in pieces by the people, who mistake his name, C. II, 147.
Cinna, L. Cornelius, as consul favours Marius and the new citizens, C. I, 64; deprived of consulship, 65; enlists an army, *ib.*; enters the city with Marius and persecutes the friends of Sulla, 69 *sq.*; Mi. 60; consul a second time, C. I, 75; Mi. 51; consul a third time, stabbed by soldiers in an assembly, C. I, 77 *sq.*
Cinna, L. Cornelius, praetor, lauds murderers of Caesar, C. II, 121; in danger of being killed, 126.
Cirrha, town of Phocis, Ma. IX, 4.
Cirta, royal city of Syphax, Pu. 27; Nu. III; of Masinissa, and afterward of Micipsa, Pu. 106; of Juba, C. II, 96; besieged by Laelius, C. IV, 53, 55.
Citizen, illegal to scourge Roman, C. II, 26; strife between new and old, I, 55, 64; Caesar orders that citizens be spared in the pursuit at Pharsalus, C. II, 80; and after the war, 130; IV, 8.
Citizenship, dissensions with Italian allies respecting, C. I, 21 *sq.*; cause of Social War, 38 *sq.*; given to the Italians except the Lucanians and Samnites, 49, 53.
Claudia Quintia, H. 56.
Claudius, Appius, the blind, Sa. X, 2.
Claudius, Appius, consul, draws line of circumvallation round Capua, H. 37, 40; captures the city, 43.
Claudius, Appius, a military tribune, surprises Antiochus at Larissa, Sy. 16.
Claudius, Appius, father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, triumvir under the agrarian law, C. I, 13.
Claudius, Appius, military tribune, admits Marius into the city, C. I, 68.
Claudius, Paulus, historian, G. 1, 3.
Claudius, the Sabine, admitted to Roman citizenship, K. X.
Claudius Asellus, single combat at Capua, H. 37.
Claudius Nero, H. 17.
Claudius Pulcher, consul, C. I, 103.
Clazomenae, city of Ionia, Mi. 63.
Cleemporus, ambassador of Issa, Il. 7.
Clemency, temple of, erected in honour of Caesar, C. II, 106.
Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. 108.
Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius Nicator, kills her husband, Sy. 68.
Cleopatra, leaves her grandson Alexander at Cos, Mi. 23; deposits treasure at Cos, 115.
Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, with her brother Ptolemy, sends fleet to assist Pompey, C. II, 71; expelled from her kingdom, collects forces in Syria against her brother, 84; restored by Caesar, 90; Caesar leaves an army with her, III, 78; IV, 59; places her image in the temple of Venus, II, 102; Cleopatra sends aid to Dolabella, IV, 61; V, 8; amour of Cleopatra and Antony V. 1, 8; IV, 39; fatal to Egypt, I, 6; V, 1; causes her sister Arsinoë to be slain, V, 9; welcomes Antony to Egypt, 11.
Cleopatra Syra, daughter of Antiochus, Sy. 5.
Clisthenes, of Lesbos, a friend of Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Clodius Bithynicus, slain by Octavian, C. V, 49.
Clodius Pulcher, violates the mysteries of the Bona Dea, Si. VII; prosecuted for impiety by Cicero, C. II, 14; procures the banishment of Cicero, 15; slain by Milo, 21; his body exposed and burned in the forum, *ib.*
Clodius, lieutenant of Brutus, C. V, 2.

Cloelius, officer of the Getae, Ma. XVIII, 2, 3.
Cluentius, Lucius, C. I, 50.
Clupea, town of Africa, Pu. 3, 110.
Clusium, town of Etruria, G. II; C. I, 89, 92.
Cnidus, town of Caria, C. II, 116; IV, 71.
Cnossus, town of Crete, Si. VI, 2.
Cocceius, L. Nerva, brings about a good understanding between Octavian and Antony, C. V, 60–64.
Coccynus, perh. Cape St. Alessio, C. V, 110.
Coele-Syria, Pr. 2; Sy. 1, 5, 50, 53; Mi. 106, 115, 118; C. V, 7.
Coelian gate, at Rome, C. I, 58.
Colchians, Sy. 63; under Mithridates, Mi. 15, 64, 67, 101; under Pompey, 103, 114, 117.
Colenda, town of Spain, Sp. 99, 100.
Colline gate, at Rome, C. I, 58, 67, 93.
Colonies, Roman, law passed for establishing twelve, C. I, 23; placed in Italy and Sicily by Lucius Drusus, 35; of Sulla's veterans, 96, 104; of Caesar's, II, 119; III, 2; of Octavian and Antony, V, 12 *sq.*; at Lampsacus, 137.
Comana, city of Cappadocia, Mi. 64, 82, 114, 121.
Comitia, to vote on the agrarian law of Gracchus, C. I, 10 *sq.*; consular, 98; tribunician, III, 31; *tributa*, I, 100; IV, 92; *centuriata*, 59; III, 30; IV, 92.
Commageneans, in Pompey's army, C. II, 49.
Complanius, plain in Spain, Sp. 88.
Concord, temple of, Mi. 23; C. I, 26.
Conistergis, town of Spain, Sp. 57 *sq.*
Connoba, a robber, Sp. 58.
Cononeus, betrays Tarentum, H. 32.
Consentia, town of Bruttium, H. 56; C. V, 56, 58.
Consul, inferior officers cease to exercise authority when consul is present, H. 5; consul ceases to exercise authority when a dictator is created, 12; consuls before the legal age, Sp. 84; Pu. 112; C. II, 129; III, 51, 88; rods and axes of, Sy. 15; power of, diminished by creation of tribunician office, C. I, 1; consul-elect gives his opinion before other senators, C. II, 5; permission to stand for consulship while absent, 8; consul unable to convoke the Senate without concurrence of his colleague, 11; eight hundred talents once deposited to secure consulship, 19; vacancy in consulship for eight months, *ib.*; Pompey consul without a colleague, 23.
Coponius, proscribed, C. IV, 41.
Coralli, Sarmatian tribe, Mi. 69.
Corax, high mountain near Callipolis, Sy. 21.
Corduba, city of Spain, Sp. 65 *sq.*; battle of (= Munda), C. II, 104, 105.
Corfinium, town of the Peligni, C. II, 38.
Corinth, Ma. VII, VIII.
Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, daughter of Scipio Africanus the elder, C. I, 17, 20.
Cornelia, wife of the younger Crassus, and afterward of Pompey, C. II, 83.
Cornelii, the, created by Sulla, C. I, 100; three Cornelii destined to hold supreme power in Rome, II, 4.
Cornelius, Carthaginian freedman, Nu. V.
Cornelius, maltreated at Tarentum, Sa. VIII, 1.
Cornelius, overcomes the Samnites, Sa. I, 1.
Cornificius, in command of Old Africa, C. III, 85; receives proscripts. IV, 36; contends with Sextius, 53 *sq.*; is killed, 56.
Cornificius, lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 80, 86, 111–115.
Cornutus, M. Caecilius saved by

his slaves, C. I, 73; another, III, 92.
Corpilae, pass of, near Philippi, C. IV, 87, 102.
Corsica, Pr. 5; Mi. 95; C. V, 67, 72, 78, 80.
Coruncanius, Sa. X, 3; another, Il. 7.
Cos, island of, Mi. 23, 115; C. I, 102.
Cosconius, C. I, 52.
Cossyra, island, between Sicily and Africa, C. I, 96; V, 97.
Cothon, part of Carthage, Pu. 127.
Cotta, Aurelius, prosecuted for extortion, escapes by bribing jury, C. I, 22.
Cotta, Aurelius, summoned to trial under Varian law, goes into exile, C. I, 37.
Cotta, L., Il. 10.
Cotta, consul, in command of Bithynia, conquered by Mithridates, Mi. 71, 112.
Cotta, lieutenant of Caesar, meets disaster in Gaul, C. II, 29, 150.
Cragus, castle of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
Crassus, consul, Ma. XII.
Crassus, Licinius, consul, H. 55 *sq.*
Crassus, Licinius, lieutenant of Sextus Caesar in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*; killed by Cinna (Appian perhaps in error), I, 72.
Crassus, M. Licinius, as praetor ends war with Spartacus, C. I, 118–124; as consul has a difference with Pompey, 121; reconciled to him, *ib.*; forms first triumvirate with Pompey and Caesar, C. II, 9; consul a second time, 18; proconsul of Syria, Sy. 51; C. II, 18; V, 10; wages war against the Parthians, II, 18; defeated and killed, *ib.*
Crassus, Quintus, put in command of Spain by Caesar, C. II, 43.
Crastinus, centurion in Caesar's army, performs prodigies of valour at Pharsalus, C. II, 82.
Craterus, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17.
Cremona, town of Italy, H. 7.
Crenides (the Springs), former name of Philippi, C. IV, 105.
Crete, Pr. 5; C. III, 8; IV, 57; V, 2; Cretans, Sy. 32; Cretan bowmen, C. II, 49; slingers, 71; Cretan history of Appian, Il. 6; Cretan war, Si. VI; C. I, 111; Antonius Creticus, *ib.*
Creusa, wife of Aeneas, K. I, 1.
Crispinus, consul, H. 50 *sq.*
Crispus, Aulus Marcius, C. III, 77; IV, 58 *sq.*
Critias, of Athens, Mi. 28.
Critonius, an aedile, C. III, 28.
Crixus, a gladiator and lieutenant of Spartacus, C. I, 116 *sq.*
Croesus, Pu. 28.
Croton, city of Italy, H. 57.
Culleo, Q. Terentius, lieutenant of Lepidus, C. III, 83.
Cuma, or Cyme, a town of Campania, Sy. 25.
Cumae, C. I, 49–104; V, 81, 84 85.
Cunei, a people of Spain, Sp. 57 *sq.*
Curio, tribune, bribed by Caesar, C. II, 26 *sq.*; flees from Rome to Caesar's camp, 31–33; made prefect of Sicily, 41; sent to Africa with an army, defeated and killed, 44 *sq.*
Curius, a robber, Sp. 68.
Curius, Quintus, fellow-conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 3.
Cyclades, islands, Pr. 5; Ma. IV.
Cydonia, town of Crete, Si. VI, 2.
Cynoscephalae, hills in Thessaly, Sy. 16.
Cyprus, Ma. IV; Sy. 4, 52, 54; Mi. 56, 92, 95; C. II, 23; IV, 61; V, 52; Cato sent thither, C. II, 23.
Cypsella, town in Thrace, Mi. 56.
Cyrene, Cyrenaica, in Africa, Pr. 1; Ma. IV; Pu. 106; C. III, 8; IV, 57; passes into possession of the Romans, Mi. 121; C. I, 111.
Cyrus, Pu. 28; C. IV, 80.
Cyrus, son of Mithridates, Mi. 117.
Cyrus, river of northern Asia, Mi. 103.
Cyzicus, on the Propontis, Sy. 68; Mi. 72–76, 80, 85; C. IV, 75; V, 137.

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Dacamas, king of the Numidians, Pu. 41.
Dacians, Pr. 4; Il. 22 *sq.*
Dahae, cavalry in army of Antiochus, Sy. 32.
Dalmatians, Il. 11, 13, 17, 24, 28.
Damagoras, a Rhodian, Mi. 25.
Danube (the lower Ister), Il. 22.
Daortho, daughter of Illyrius, Il. 2.
Dardani, Il. 2, 5, 14, 22; Mi. 55 C. V, 75.
Dardanus, son of Illyrius, Il. 2.
Darius, king of Media, Mi. 106, 117.
Darius, son of Hystaspes, Mi. 112, 115.
Darius, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
Darius, son of Pharnaces, C. V, 75.
Darsi, an Illyrian tribe, Il. 2.
Dasius, of Salapia, H. 45, 47.
Daunia, part of Apulia, Sa. IV, 1; H. 31.
Decemvirs, consult Sibylline books, H. 56; appointed to inquire into acts of Antony, C. III, 82; for distributing money to soldiers, 86.
Decidius Saxa, lieutenant of Antony at Philippi, C. IV, 87, 102 *sq.*; prefect of Syria, Sy. 51.
Decius, P., overcomes the Samnites, Sa. I, 1.
Decius, treacherously slaughters men of Rhegium, Sa. IX, 1–3.
Decius, lieutenant of Antony, C. III, 80.
Decius, proscribed, C. IV, 27.
Decuriones, of Perusia, C. V, 48.
Delium, town of Boeotia, Sy. 12, 15.
Delminium, town of Illyria, Il. 11.
Delos, Mi. 28; C. I, 37.
Delphi, H. 27; Ma. XI, 4; XIX; Mi. 112; Il. 4 *sq.*
Demetrias, town of Thessaly, Ma. VIII; Sy. 29; Mi. 29; C. III, 63.
Demetrius, of Pharos, Il. 8 *sq.*
Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Sy. 54; attacks the Rhodians, C. IV, 66.
Demetrius, son of Philip, Ma. IX, 5 *sq.*; Sy. 20.
Demetrius Nicator, son of the preceding, Sy. 67 *sq.*
Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus, grandson of Antiochus the Great, Sy. 45, 47, 67.
Demochares, naval officer of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 83–86; 105 *sq.*
Demosthenes, Sp. 39; C. II, 15 *sq.*; III, 20; IV, 20.
Dentatus, Roman general, Sa. V.
Derbani, Illyrian people, Il. 28.
Diana, temple of, at Ephesus, Mi. 23; C. V, 4; at Rome, C. I, 26; at Dyrrachium, II, 60; priest of, at Ephesus, C. V, 9; Diana Leucophryne, *ib.*
Dictator, Camillus, It. VIII, 2; C. Sulpicius, G. I, 1; Fabius, H. 11; Sulla, C. I, 3, 99; Caesar, C. I, 4; II, 48, 106; dictatorship, C. I, 3, 98 *sq.*, 100; II, 111; law of Antony abolishing, III, 25, 37.
Didius, T., Sp. 99 *sq.*; C. I, 40.
Dido, founder of Carthage, Pu. 1.
Didymaean oracle at Miletus, Sy. 56.
Diegyles, a Thracian, Mi. 6.
Dindymus, mountain at Cyzicus, Mi. 57 *sq.*
Diocles, officer of Mithridates, Mi. 78.
Diodotus, usurper of throne of Syria, Sy. 68, 70.
Diogenes, son of Archelaus, Mi. 49.
Diomedes, builds Arpi in Daunia, H. 31; Sy. 63; and Lanuvium, Italy, C. II, 20; kills Rhesus, Mi. 1; carries palladium away from Troy, 53.
Dionysius, a eunuch, Mi. 76 *sq.*
Dionysopolis, town of lower Moesia, Il. 30.
Diophanes, leader of the Achaeans, Sy. 26.
Dioscuri, the Argonauts, Mi. 101; their temple, C. I, 25; *see* Castor.
Dioscurias, town of Colchis on the Euxine, Mi. 101.
Ditalco, friend of Viriathus, Sp. 74.
Dolabella, Gnaeus Cornelius, C. I, 100.
Dolabella, P. Cornelius, prefect of fleet for Caesar, C. II, 41; falsely

pretends to have been in conspiracy against Caesar, 119, 122; consul, 129, 132; III, 22; obtains province of Syria, III, 7 *sq.*; puts Trebonius to death at Smyrna, 26; decreed a public enemy, 61; IV, 58; decree repealed by Octavian, III, 94; besieged at Laodicea by Cassius and commits suicide, IV, 60–62, 64; V, 4.
Dolcatae, an Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Dolopes, a people of Thessaly, Ma. XI, 6; C. II, 70.
Domitius, overcomes the Senones, Sa. VI, 2; G. XI.
Domitius, Ahenobarbus, sent by Brutus and Cassius with a fleet to the Adriatic, C. IV, 86, 100, 108, 115–117; V, 2, 15, 26; comes to an agreement with Antony, 50, 55 *sq.*; also with Octavian, 61 *sq.*, 65; prefect of Bithynia, 63, 137; designated as consul, 73.
Domitius (Calvinus), a lieutenant of Caesar at Pharsalus, C. II, 76; in war with Pharnaces, Mi. 120; C. II, 91; lieutenant of Octavian, overcome in sea-fight by Marcus and Ahenobarbus, IV, 115 *sq.*
Domitius, Gnaeus, overcomes the Allobroges, G. XII.
Domitius, Gnaeus, lieutenant of L. Scipio, defeats Antiochus, Sy. 30, 36.
Domitius, Lucius, killed by order of Marius, C. I, 88.
Domitius, Lucius Ahenobarbus, competitor of Pompey for consulship, defeated by violence, C. II, 17; captured by Caesar at Corfinium and dismissed, 32, 38; commands Pompey's left wing at Pharsalus, 76; killed, 82.
Dorian origin of the Rhodians, C. IV, 67, 70.
Doriscus, town of Thrace, C. IV, 101.
Dorylaus, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17, 49.
Drabescus (-iscus), town of Thrace, C. IV, 105.
Dream, of Dido, Pu. 1; of Caesar concerning colony of Carthage, 136; of the mother of Seleucus, Sy. 56; of Antigonus concerning first Mithridates, Mi. 9; of Mithridates concerning grove of Latona, Mi. 27; of Lucullus concerning Autolycus, 83; of Sulla concerning his death, C. I, 105; of Pompey concerning temple to Venus Victrix, II, 69; of Calpurnia concerning death of Caesar, 115; of Octavian at Philippi, IV, 110; of Ulysses, V, 116.
Dromichaetes, a general of Mithridates, Mi. 32, 41.
Durius, river of Spain, H. 72, 76, 91.
Dyme, river of Achaia, Mi. 96.
Dyrrachium, town of Illyria, C. II, 39, 55–64, 150.
Dyrrachus, father of Ionius, from whom the Ionian sea was named, C. II, 39.

E

Eagle, principal military standard, C. II, 61; two eagles in camp of Cassius, IV, 101; two eagles fight before second battle of Philippi, 128; seven young eagles, omen of Marius, C. I, 61.
Earthquake, overthrows the towns of the Celts, Il. 4; destroys temples in Rome, C. I, 83.
Echinades, islands of the Mediterranean, Pr. 5.
Edessa, town of Mesopotamia, Sy. 57.
Egestus, son of Numitor, K. I, 2.
Egnatii, father and son, proscribed, C. IV, 21.
Egnatius, Marius, leader of the Italians in the Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*, 45, 52.
Egypt, divided from Asia by sands, Mi. 121; oldest and strongest kingdom of the successors of Alexander, C. I, 5; Pr. 10; regulated by Caesar, C. I, 4; II, 90; subjugated by Augustus, Mi. 121; Il. 30; C. I, 5.

Elaea, naval station of Aeolis, Sy. 26, 30.
Elatea, town of Phocis, Sy. 20.
Eleates, gulf of, in Lucania, C. V, 98.
Elephants, "common enemy" in battle, Sp. 46; Pu. 43; interspersed with archers and slingers, 89; frighten horses by their odour, H. 7; sent into the Roman camp by night, 41; hunting for elephants, Pu. 9; Scipio fights them ingeniously, 41, 43; Carthaginians invoke them by name, 92; smaller African fear the larger Asiatic, Sy. 31; in Antiochus's line of battle, 32; put to death by order of the Senate, 46; insignia of fifth legion, C. II, 96; fight in circus at Rome, 102.
Eleusis, town of Attica, Mi. 30, 33.
Elymais, temple of Venus, Sy. 66; Elymaean archers, 32.
Emporiae, town of Spain, Sp. 6, 40; Emporia Punica, Pu. 72.
Enchelees, Illyrian peoples descended from Encheleus, Il. 2.
Eneti, tribe bordering Macedonia, Mi. 55.
Enipeus, river of Thessaly, C. II, 75.
Epaminondas, the Theban, Sy 41.
Ephesus, city of Ionia, Sy. 4, 6, 9, 20, 22, 24 *sq.*; Mi. 48, 115; C. III, 26; V, 4; citizens of, Mi. 48; C. V, 9; overthrow statues of Romans and kill Italians sojourning among them, Mi. 21, 23, 61.
Epicurus, school of, Mi. 28.
Epicydes, leader of the Syracusans, Si. III.
Epidamnus, town of Illyria, Il. 7, 13; C. II, 39; IV, 106; V, 75.
Epidaurus, temple of, Mi. 54.
Epiphanea, a town of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
Epirus, Ma. XI, 4; Mi. 4; Il. 7; C. II, 38; V, 75; Epirotes, Ma. V.
Equestrian order, C. I, 23; obtains the judicial function, *ib.*; Sulla chooses three hundred of them for the Senate, 100; farmers of the revenue, II, 13; two thousand proscribed, IV, 5.
Erasistratus, physician to Seleucus, Sy. 59–61.
Erennius, of Brundusium, Ma. XI, 7.
Eridanus, river, H. 5; C. I, 109; Il. 8.
Erisane, town of Lusitania, Sp. 69.
Erythea, town of Spain, C. II, 39.
Erythrae, town of Ionia, Mi. 46.
Escadia, town of Lusitania, Sp. 68.
Esquiline forum and gate, C. I, 58.
Ethiopia, eastern, Pr. 1, 9; Nu. V; western, Nu. V; heat of, Pu. 71.
Ethiopian, meets soldiers of Brutus at Philippi, C. IV, 134.
Etna, eruption of, C. V, 117; lava of, 114.
Etruria, H. 5, 9 *sq.*, 52; Mi. 93; C. I, 50, 67; IV, 4; V, 81.
Etruscans, Lydian colony, Pu. 66; procession of, *ib.*; war of, with the Romans, Sa. VI, 1; C. I, 36, 49, 67; worship Juno, C. V, 49.
Euboea, girl married by Antiochus, Sy. 16, 20.
Euboea, island of, Sy. 12; Mi. 29, 95; Euboic talent, Si. II, 2; Pu. 54; Sy. 38.
Eudorus, a Rhodian, Sy. 27.
Eumachus, satrap of Mithridates, Mi. 46, 75.
Eumenes, of Cardia, Sy. 53; Mi. 8.
Eumenes, king of Pergamus in Asia, his controversy with Philip, Ma. IX, 6; with Perseus, XI, 1 *sq.*; aids the Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 5, 22, 25 *sq.*, 31, 33 *sq.*, 38, 43; brings Antiochus Epiphanes to his kingdom, 45; his father Attalus, 38; his brothers, 22.
Eunuchs, Mi. 76, 82, 107 *sq.*; C. II, 84.
Eupatoria, Mi. 78, 115.
Eupatra, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
Euphrates, Pr. 2, 4; Sy. 1, 50, 55 *sq.*; sources of, Mi. 101; forms marshes and pools below Babylon C. II ,153.

Euripides, quoted, C. II, 153; IV, 130.
Euripus, of Chalcidice, Mi. 45.
Europe, Mi. 107; C. IV, 87, 106; Romans order kings of Pontus and Syria to keep away from, Mi. 13, 58; Sy. 6.
Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, Sy. 62.
Euryleon, surname of Ascanius, K. I, 1.

F

Faberius, private secretary of Caesar, C. III, 5.
Fabian, *gens* destroyed, It. IV.
Fabii, three sent as ambassadors to the Gauls, G. II; accused by Brennus, made military tribunes, G. III.
Fabius, lieutenant of Lucullus, defeated by Mithridates, Mi. 88, 112.
Fabius Maximus, dictator, H. 11–16, 31.
Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, son of Aemilius Paulus, Ma. XIX; consul, sent to take charge of affairs in Spain, Sp. 65; brother by adoption of Fabius Maximus Servilianus, 67; lieutenant of his brother Scipio Aemilianus, 90.
Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, gains victory over the Gauls, G. I, 2.
Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Sp. 67–69; brother of Caepio, 70.
Fabius, Quintius, historian, H. 27.
Fabricius, Sa. IX, 3; X, 4.
Faesulae, town of Etruria, C. II. 2.
Faith, temple of, C. I, 16.
Falerinus, Mount, C. I, 47.
Famine, in Carthage, Pu. 73; in Caesar's camp, C. II, 61; in Perusia, V, 34 *sq.*; compels the Numantines to eat human flesh, Sp. 96 *sq.*; Athenians also, Mi. 38; soldiers of Mithridates also, 76.
Fango, C. Fuficius, lieutenant of Octavian in Africa, C. V, 26.
Fannius, son-in-law of Laelius, fights against Viriathus, Sp. 67.
Fannius, L., sent by Sertorius to Mithridates, Mi. 68.
Fannius, lieutenant of Cassius, C. IV, 72.
Fannius, proscribed, C. IV, 84; another, deserts from Sextus Pompeius to Antony, V, 39.
Faustulus, Fr. I, 3.
Faustus, cognomen of Sulla, C. I. 97.
Faustus, son of Sulla, C. I, 106.
Faventia, town of Cisalpine Gaul C. I, 91.
Favonius, ridicules Pompey, C. II, 37; pretends to have been one of the conspirators against Caesar. 119.
Fear and Courage, Scipio sacrifices to, Pu. 21.
Felix, Sulla, C. I, 97, 105 *sq.*
Fetial priests, Sa. IV, 1, 5.
Figulus, L., lieutenant of Dolabella, C. IV, 60.
Figulus, M., consul, Il. 11.
Fimbria, puts consul Flaccus to death, Mi. 51–53; commits suicide, 59 *sq.*
Fimbria, Flavius, brother of the preceding, C. I, 91.
Flaccus, lieutenant of Aemilius Lepidus, Sp. 81.
Flaccus, Fulvius, overcomes the Celtiberians, Sp. 42.
Flaccus, Fulvius, consul, besieges Capua, H. 37; follows Hannibal to Rome, 40 *sq.*; takes Capua, 43.
Flaccus, Fulvius, consul and triumvir for dividing the land, cooperates with Gaius Gracchus, C. I, 18, 21, 34; marches against the Illyrians, Il. 10; C. I, 34; made tribune, 24 *sq.*, 38; killed with his son and Gaius Gracchus. 26.
Flaccus, L. Valerius, consul, sent by Cinna into Asia against Mithridates, Mi. 51; C. I, 75; put to death by Fimbria, Mi. 52.
Flaccus, Valerius, interrex, C. I 100.
Flamen Dialis (priest of Jupiter), C. I, 65, 74.
Flamininus, Roman general, Ma. V; has a colloquy with Philip,

king of Macedonia, VIII; grants peace to Philip after Cynoscephalae, IX; at the Isthmian games he proclaims the Greeks free, IX, 4; commends Demetrius, son of Philip, to the Roman Senate, 6; negotiations between Flamininus and Antiochus, Sy. 2; sends embassy to Prusias with fatal results to Hannibal, 11.
Flamininus, L. Quintius, brother of the preceding, Ma. VII.
Flaminius, C., consul, killed in battle, H. 8–10, 17.
Flamma, prefect of the fleet of Utica, C. II, 46.
Flavius, C., put to death by Octavian, C. V, 49.
Flavius, L., betrays proconsul, Sempronius Gracchus, to Hannibal, H. 35.
Fleece, the golden, Mi. 103.
Forum Gallorum, a town of Cisalpine Gaul, C. III, 70.
Freedmen, King Prusias in the garb of, Mi. 2; admitted to military service, C. I, 49; made equal to citizens, 120; faithful ones, IV, 44, 46 *sq.*; unfaithful, 26, 28; Sextus Pompeius under the control of, V, 78; Octavian makes the freedman Menodorus a free citizen, V, 80.
Fregellae, a town of Latium, Sa. IV, 1.
Frentani, a people of Italy C. I, 39.
Fufius Calenus, lieutenant of Antony, C. V, 3, 12, 24, 51.
Fufius, son of the preceding, on the death of his father, delivers his army to Octavian, C. V, 51.
Fulginium, town of Umbria, C. V, 35.
Fulvia informs Cicero of conspiracy of Catiline, C. II, 3.
Fulvia, wife of Antony, petitions senators on behalf of her husband, C. III, 51; Antony sends her the head of Rufus, IV, 29; repulses Roman ladies from her doors, 32; stirs up strife against Octavian, V, 14, 19, 21, 33. 43. 59, 62; flees to Athens, 50, 52; her death, 55, 59.
Fulvius, proscribed, is betrayed by a concubine, C. IV, 24.
Funeral, of Viriathus, Sp. 75; of Mithridates, Mi. 113; of Sulla, C. I, 105; of Caesar, II, 143 *sq.*
Furius, the consul, delivers Mancinus to Numantines, Sp. 83.
Furius, P., a tribune torn in pieces by the populace, C. I, 33.
Furnius, C., lieutenant of Lucius Antonius, C. V, 30, 40 *sq.*; of Mark Antony, 75; as prefect of Asia, fights with Sextus Pompeius, 137–142.

G

Gabii, town of Latium, K. VII; C. V, 23.
Gabinius, Aulus, sent on a mission to Murena and Mithridates, Mi. 66; his law concerning war against pirates, 94; made consul at Caesar's instance, C. II, 14; while proconsul of Syria restores Ptolemy to throne of Egypt, Sy. 51; C. II, 24; banished and fined by Senate for this, *ib*; as lieutenant of Caesar perishes with his forces in Illyria, Il. 12, 25; C. II, 59.
Gades (Cadiz), town of Spain, Sp. 5, 28, 31; comes into possession of the Romans, 37.
Gaetulia, country in interior of Africa, Nu. V.
Gala, son of Polyphemus, Il. 2.
Galatea, wife of Polyphemus, Il. 2.
Galatia, Il. 2; western, sometimes called Celtica, H. 4; Sp. 1; eastern, C. II, 49; also called Gallograecia, Mi. 114 (see below).
Galba, Servius. appointed prefect of Lusitania, Sp. 58–60.
Galba, Publius Sulpicius, proconsul of Macedonia, Ma. III; crosses over to Greece a second time, IV; inflicts wrongs on the Greeks, VII.
Galba, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 43.
Galba, Servius, conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113.

Gallograecians, or Galatians, Mi. 114; their chiefs, Sy. 6; allies of Antiochus, 32; they fight partly on the side of Mithridates and partly on that of the Romans, Sy. 50; Mi. 11, 17, 41, 65, 68, 112; Mithridates puts their tetrarchs to death by treachery, 46; the tetrarch Deïotarus, 114; others allied with Brutus and Cassius, C. IV, 88; Antony requires them to pay tribute, V, 7; their country made a Roman province, Sy. 50; Mi. 118.
Games, votive, of Scipio, Pu. 135; Isthmian, Ma. IX, 3, 4; musical, in triumph of Caesar, C. II, 102; in honour of Venus Genetrix, III, 28.
Ganga, or Gangites, a river of Thrace, C. IV, 106.
Garganum, mountain of Apulia, (confused with river Gargarus), C. I, 117.
Gates, of Cilicia, the pass of Mount Taurus between Cilicia and Syria, Sy. 53; of Rome, Coelian, Colline, and Aesquiline, C. I, 58.
Gaul, around the Po, the boundary of Italy, C. I, 86; II, 17; Cisalpine, H. 6; C. I, 92, 109; II, 13, 41, 111; the Gallic province, C. I, 29; old Gaul, III, 98; IV, 2; new Gaul, II, 48; Caesar conquers four hundred tribes of, II, 150.
Gauls, overcome by Camillus, by T. Quintius, by Popillius, by the son of Camillus, by Emilius Pappus, and by Caesar, G. I, 1, 2; they cross the Alps and invade Clusium, G. II; burn Rome and besiege the Capitol, G. I, 1; III *sq.*; intemperate, G. VII; their chiefs, G. I, 2; III; C. I, 50; the Boii, H. 5, 8; war of Gallic mercenaries against the Carthaginians, Pu. 5; make an incursion from Europe into Asia, Sy. 65.
Gaza, town of Syria, Sy. 54.
Gelleius, L., lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 95; as consul defeated by Spartacus, C. I, 117.
Gemella, town of Lusitania, Sp. 68.
Genthius, king of the Illyrians, Ma. XVIII, 1; Il. 9.
Germans in Caesar's army make themselves ridiculous by drink, C. II, 64; alarmed by an eruption of Mount Etna, V, 117; their king Ariovistus, G. I, 3; XVI, XVII.
Geronia, town of Apulia, H. 15, 16.
Geta, proscribed, loses an eye, C. IV, 41.
Getae, a people of Sarmatia in Europe, Ma. XVIII, 1, 2; Il. 3, 4, 13; C. II, 100; III, 25.
Glaber, Varinius (error for Claudius Glaber), C. I, 116.
Gladiators, war of, C. I, 111, 116–121; at Rome, C. II, 118; V. 26; in the army of Decimus Brutus, III, 49; of Lucius Antonius, V, 30, 33; of Antony at Cyzicus, 137.
Glanis, river of Spain, C. I, 89.
Glaphyra, mother of Sisinna, king of Cappadocia, C. V, 7.
Glaucia, Roman senator, C. I, 28, 32.
Glintidiones, a people of Dalmatia, Il. 16.
Gomphi, town of Thessaly plundered by Caesar, C. II, 64.
Gordiene, town of Armenia Minor, Mi. 105.
Gordius, general of Mithridates, Mi. 66.
Gracchus, Sempronius, proconsul against the Lucanians, betrayed and loses his life, H. 35.
Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, praetor of Spain, captures Complega, Sp. 43.
Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, son of the preceding, tribune, C. I, 2 *sq.*; proposes agrarian law and is slain on the Capitoline hill, 9–16; his father and mother, 17.
Gracchus, Gaius Sempronius, brother of the preceding, triumvir for apportioning the land under agrarian law, C. I, 13; as tribune

enacts law for monthly distribution of corn, 21; carries through law for transferring judicial power to the knights, 22; tries to secure right of Roman citizenship for Latins and Italian allies, 23; marks out boundary of the colony of Carthage in Africa, 24; is killed in Rome, 32 *sq.*

Granius, Q., exiled, C. I, 60.

Greeks, the power of, Pr. 8; in Spain, Sp. 2, 7; H. 2; in Italy, H. 8; subjected to Roman rule, Ma. III, 1; Antiochus crosses over to Greece, Sy. 7, 12 *sq.*; Greeks in Asia freed from rule of Antiochus, 44; Greek names of Syrian and Asiatic cities, 57; Greeks inhabiting Pontus, Mi. 15; the Achaeans of Scythia slaughtered the Greeks who fell into their hands, 102; Mithridates cultivates the arts and religion of Greece, 112; Greek cities in Moesia, Il. 30; Sulla transfers Greek dramatic spectacles to Rome, C. I, 99; Greeks formerly in Thrace, IV, 102.

Grumentum, town of Lucania, C. I, 41.

Gulussa, son of Masinissa, Pu. 70, 73, 106, 109, 111, 126.

Gymnasium, Sy. 10, 46, 69; C. I, 102; V, 11.

H

Hadrian, born at Italica in Spain, Sp. 38; destroys Jerusalem, Sy. 50; renews practice of appointing proconsuls in Italy, C. I, 38; restores Pompey's monument in Egypt, II, 86.

Hadrumetum, town in Africa, Pu. 33, 47, 94.

Hamilcar Barca, father of Hannibal, H. 2; Carthaginian commander in Sicily, Si. II, 3; Sp. 4; H. 2; cause of war between Africans and Carthaginians, *ib.*; commander of the Carthaginians against the Numidians, Sp. 4; H. 2; in Spain, Sp. 5; H. 2.

Hamilcar, prefect of Carthaginian fleet, Pu. 24, 25, 30.

Hamilcar, the Samnite, chief of democratic faction, Pu. 68; attacks Gulussa by ambush, 70.

Hannibal, son of Hamilcar Barca, brother-in-law and lieutenant of Hasdrubal, Sp. 6; commander of the Carthaginians in Spain, Sp. 8; H. 3; swears eternal hatred of the Romans, Sp. 9; H. 3; makes war on the Saguntines, Sp. 10 *sq.*; H. 3; destroys Saguntum, Sp. 12; crosses the Alps, Sp. 13; H. 4; puts P. Scipio to flight at Ticinus and crosses the Po, H. 5; defeats Scipio and Sempronius at Trebia, 7; defeats and kills Flaminius at Thrasimenus, 10; destroys army of Centenius at Plestine marsh, 11; has an indecisive engagement with Minucius, 12; caught in a trap by Fabius but escapes, 14; in vain seeks aid from the Carthaginians, 16; calls his brother Hasdrubal from Spain, *ib.*; destroys Roman army at Cannae, 19–24; gets possession of Petilia with difficulty, 29; his affairs begin to decline, 30; makes an alliance with Philip of Macedonia, Ma. I; burns wife and children of Dasius of Arpi, 31; Tarentum betrayed into his hands, 32; marches from Capua to Rome, 38; after reconnoitring returns to Capua, 40; gives himself up to luxury, 43; acts as judge between Dasius and Blatius, 45 *sq.*; kills pro-consul Fulvius, 48; eulogizes and criticizes Marcellus, 50; oppresses his allies, 54, 57; having devastated Italy for sixteen years, withdraws unwillingly, 60; sails for Hadrumetum, Pu. 33; procures truce for Carthaginians, 37; interview with Scipio, 39; defeated by Scipio, 40 *sq.*; flees to Hadrumetum and prepares new army, 47; persuades his countrymen to accept peace, 55; visits Antiochus, Sy.

4; his advice to Antiochus rejected, 7, 14; urges the Carthaginians to renew war with the Romans, 7; colloquy with Scipio concerning the world's greatest generals, 10; besieged by the Rhodians, 22; after overthrow of Antiochus takes refuge with Prusias, his death, 11; destroys four hundred cities in Italy, Pu. 64, 134; breaker of treaties, H. 3, 10, 54, 57 *sq.*; his stratagems, 6, 14, 18, 26, 40, 51; Pu. 33; Sertorius is called Hannibal by the Celtiberians, C. I, 112.
Hannibalic history, of Appian, Pr. 14; Sp.14; Pu. 2.
Hanno, Carthaginian prefect of horse captured by the Romans, is exchanged for the mother of Masinissa, Pu. 14.
Hanno, at Cannae, H. 20; captures Petilia, 29; besieges Tarentum, 33; captures Thurii, 34; brings succour to Capua while it is besieged, 36; delivered to the Romans by the Capuans, 43.
Hanno, betrayed by the Celtiberians to Marcius, Sp. 31.
Hanno, son of Bomilcar, Pu. 24; tampers with Spaniards in Scipio's camp, 29; calumniates Hasdrubal to the people, 30; repulsed from Utica, *ib.*
Hanno the Great, sent against the Numidians, Sp. 4; recalled home, 5; snatches the Roman ambassadors from fury of the people, 34; goes as ambassador to Scipio, 49; leader of Romanizing faction, 68.
Hanno the White, Pu. 108.
Harpalus, general of Cyrus, C. IV, 80.
Harpax ("grip"), an invention of Agrippa, C. V, 118 *sq.*
Harpessus, river of Thrace (Appian's error for Arda), C. IV, 103.
Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, left by him in Spain, Sp. 13; H. 4; recalled to Africa, Sp. 15; sent back to Spain, kills P. Scipio, 16; recruits mercenaries in Celtiberia, 24; H. 52; summoned to Italy by Hannibal, crosses the Alps, Sp. 28; H. 16, 52; defeated and slain, 52.
Hasdrubal, grandson of Masinissa, city praetor of Carthage, Pu. 93; falsely accused and beaten to death, 111.
Hasdrubal, prefect of fleet, sent to bring Hannibal home, H. 58; attacks Scipio's ambassadors, Pu. 34.
Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, Sp. 4, 6, 8; H. 2.
Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, Sp. 16, 24; vanquished by Scipio, 24 *sq.*; dines with Scipio as guest of Syphax, 30; his daughter Sophonisba, betrothed to Masinissa, is given to Syphax by the Carthaginians clandestinely, 37; Pu. 10; lays a trap for Masinissa and Scipio in Africa, Pu. 10–15; his camp captured by Scipio, 21; condemned to death, seizes command of the army without authority, 24; reappointed, 36; ends life by poison, 38.
Hasdrubal, the Boëtharch, commands army against Masinissa, Pu. 70–73; condemned to death in his absence, 74; recalled and made commander of forces outside city, 93; defeats Romans with great slaughter, 102; betakes himself to city, where he is besieged by Scipio, 114 *sq.*; when city is captured he comes from citadel and presents himself as a suppliant to Scipio, 130; upbraided by his wife, who commits herself and her two children to the flames, 131.
Hasdrubal Eriphus, protects Roman ambassadors, Pu. 34; ambassador to Scipio, 49 *sq.*
Hebrews, auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71.
Hebrus, river of Thrace, C. IV, 103.
Hecatompylos, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.
Hegesianactes, lieutenant of Antiochus, Sy. 6.

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Pharsalus, town of Thessaly, C. II, 64; battle of, 75–82.

Pharus, island near Dalmatia, Il. 7 *sq.*

Phila, town of Macedonia, Ma. XVIII, 3.

Philadelphus, freedman of Octavian, C. V, 78.

Philemon, freedman, saves his former master, C. IV, 44.

Philetaerus, king of Pergamus, Sy. 63; another, brother of Eumenes, 5.

Philip, father of Alexander, Pr. 8; Il. 14; Sy. 19, 32, 54; C. II, 149; drives people of Chalcidice out of Thrace, IV, 102; fortifies Philippi, 105; his slayers, II, 154.

Philip V, king of Macedonia, his treaty with Hannibal, Ma. I; war and peace with the Aetolians and the Romans, III, 1, 2;

attacks Attalus and Rhodes, besieges Athens, IV; the Achaeans prefer him to the Romans, V; his colloquy with Flamininus, VII; being vanquished makes peace, VIII, 1, 3; helps Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 16 *sq.*, 21, 23; new bickerings and preparation for war, Ma. IX, 6; his son Demetrius, *ib.*
Philip, master of elephants to Antiochus, Sy. 33.
Philip, son of Alexander of Megalopolis, Sy. 13, 17.
Philippi, city of Macedonia, C. IV, 87, 103; its origin, name, and situation, 105 *sq.*; first battle of, 110–112; second battle of, 125 *sq.*; victory ascribed to Antony chiefly, V, 14, 53, 58.
Philocharis, of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 1.
Philoctetes, altar of, Mi. 77.
Philologists, of Athens, Antony attends their lectures, C. V, 11.
Philonidas, of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 2.
Philopator, Nicomedes, Mi. 7.
Philopoemen, father of Monima, Mi. 21, 48.
Philotimus, conspires against Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Phocaea, city of Ionia, Sy. 22, 25.
Phocian war, It. VIII, 1.
Phocians, lend aid to Antiochus, Sy. 21.
Phocis, country of Greece between Boeotia and Aetolia, Ma. VIII; Mi. 41.
Phoenicia, Pr. 2; Sy. 22; Mi. 13, 56, 95; considered part of Syria, 116, 118; subject to Romans, Sy. 50; Mi. 106.
Phoenicians, build Carthage, Pu. 1; settle in Spain, Sp. 2; auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71; also of Cassius, IV, 60.
Phoenix, town of Sicily, (= Palma), C. V, 110.
Phoenix, general of Mithridates, Mi. 79.
Phraates, king of the Parthians, captures Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 67 *sq.*
Phraates, king of the Parthians, son of Sintricus, seeks friendship of Pompey, Mi. 104; wages war against Tigranes, 106.
Phrygia, country of Asia Minor, Sy. 53; Mi. 20, 65, 112; C. II, 39; V. 7; inland, Sy. 55; on Hellespont, 62; given to Mithridates by Romans, Mi. 12, 57; taken away again, *ib.* 13; declared free by Romans, 57; added to Roman sway, 118.
Phrygians, Sy. 32; Mi. 41; unwarlike, 19; worship the Mother of the gods at Pessinus, H 56; auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71.
Phrygius, river of Ionia, Sy. 30.
Picentines, take arms against Romans, C. I, 39.
Picenum, country of Italy proper on Adriatic coast, Sa. VI, 1; G. XI; C. I, 80, 117; II, 2; III, 66, 93.
Pinarius, an heir of Caesar, C. III, 22; given charge of war material at Amphipolis by Antony, IV, 107.
Pindarus, shield-bearer of Cassius. C. IV, 113.
Pinnes, son of Argo, king of Illyria, Il. 7 *sq.*
Piraeus, seaport of Athens, Sy. 22; C. I, 79; occupied by Archelaus, Mi. 29; fortified by Pericles, 30; besieged by Sulla, 31 *sq.*; burned, 41.
Pirates, their beginning and growth, Mi. 92 *sq.*; their destroyer Pompey, 91, 94–96; C. I, 111; aided by the Cretans, Si. VI, 1; by order of Sextus Pompeius they infest the seas, C. V, 77, 80; Mithridates takes flight in a piratical craft, Mi. 78; Demetrius practices piracy, Il. 8; Clodius captured by pirates, C. II, 23.
Pisidia, country of Asia Minor near Mount Taurus, between Pamphylia and Phrygia, Sy. 9; subdued by Eumachus for Mithridates, Mi. 75; Amyntas appointed its king by Antony, C. V, 75.
Pisistratus, governor of Cyzicus

during its siege by Mithridates, Mi. 73.
Pitane, town of Mysia, near Pergamus, Mi. 52.
Pithagoras, soothsayer, C. II, 152.
Pithecusa, island near Neapolis, also called Aenaria, C .V, 69.
Pius, Metellus, C. I, 33.
Placentia, city of Cisalpine Gaul, H. 5, 77; C. I, 92; II, 47.
Plague, the, Pu. 73; Mi. 76; Il. 4.
Plancus, with three legions in Farther Gaul, C. III, 46; ordered to make war against Antony, 74; joins Decimus Brutus, 81; goes over to Antony, 97; his brother Plotius proscribed while he is consul, IV, 12; arranges at the instance of Antony for the restoration of Lucius Caesar to citizenship, 37; also of Sergius, 45; destroys a legion of Octavian, 33; hesitates to join Lucius Antonius at Perusia, 35; deserted by his army flees from Italy, 50, 61; is made governor of Syria by Antony, 144.
Plataea, comes to help of Athens, H. 39.
Plato, his *Apology of Socrates*, Sy. 41; his treatise on the soul, C. II, 98.
Plautius, C., vanquished by Viriathus, Sp. 64.
Plebeians of Rome, withdraw to the Sacred Mount, C. I, 1; come to voting place with concealed daggers, II, 10; much mixed with foreign blood, 120; plunder private houses to obtain food, V, 34; receive three hundred sesterces per man as a legacy from Caesar, II, 134; subjected to taxation by triumvirs, IV, 5, 96; attack Octavian with stones in Forum, V, 68.
Pleminius, made prefect of Locri by Scipio, H. 55.
Plenius, (or Plinius) L. Rufus, lieutenant of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 97 *sq.*, 122.
Plestine marsh, H. 9, 11.
Plotius, brother of Plancus, proscribed, C. IV, 12.
Plotius Varus, lieutenant of Pompey in war against the pirates, Mi. 95.
Poediculi, a people of Italy, in Apulia, C. I, 52.
Polemo, appointed king of part of Cilicia by Antony, C. V, 75.
Polemocratia, widow of a Thracian prince, C. IV, 75.
Pollux, Mi. 101, 103.
Polybius, tutor of Scipio Africanus the Younger, his history cited, Pu. 132.
Polyphemus, his sons, daughters, and grandchildren, Il. 2.
Polyxenidas, Rhodian exile and admiral of Antiochus, Sy. 14, 21, 24.
Pompaean mountains, C. I, 50.
Pompeians, boast before battle of Pharsalus, C. II, 69; Pompeian gardens, III, 14.
Pompeii, town of Campania, takes arms against Romans in Social War, C. I, 39.
Pompeiopolis, town of Cilicia, Mi. 115.
Pompeius, Gn., father of Pompey the Great, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40, 47, 50, 52; kills Quintus Pompeius, 63; drives Marius from Rome, 66–68; is killed by lightning, 68, 80.
Pompeius, Gn., son of the preceding, C. I, 40, 80; his title, "the Great," Mi. 97, 118, 121; C. I, 4; II, 86; assists Sulla in the Civil War, I, 80, 87–89, 92; sent by Sulla against Carbo in Africa, 80, 95 *sq.*; sent against Sertorius in Spain, Sp. 101; C. I, 80, 108; loses a legion, 109; defeated and severely wounded by Sertorius, 110; overcomes Perpenna, 115; with Crassus finishes war with Spartacus, 119; quarrels with Crassus concerning honours, 120 *sq.*; designated consul with Crassus, dismisses his army and shakes hands with his colleague, 121; made commander of the sea for three years against pirates, ends war in short time,

Mi. 94, 96; made general-in-chief of war against Mithridates, with command over all armies outside Italy, 97; overcomes Mithridates and puts him to flight, 97–100; pursues him to Colchis and reduces the Albanians and Iberians, 103; receives the surrender of Tigranes, king of Armenia, 105; reduces and regulates eastern kingdoms as far as Egypt, 106 *sq.*; Sy. 49–51, 70; orders corpse of Mithridates to be buried in royal tomb at Sinope, Mi. 113; concedes kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosporus to Pharnaces, *ib.*; list of his exploits in the East, 114 *sq.*; his triumph, 116 *sq.*; demands of the Senate that his acts be ratified, C. II, 9; joins Caesar and Crassus in forming first triumvirate, 9, 14; approves Caesar's measures, 10; his own acts ratified through Caesar's influence, 13; marries Caesar's daughter, 14; causes Cicero's recall from exile, 16; elected consul by violence in the comitia, 17; governs provinces of Spain and Africa by proxy, 18; remains himself in Italy and is put in charge of corn supply, *ib.*; his wife Julia dies, 19; he longs for dictatorship, *ib.*; is made consul without a colleague, 23; passes a law concerning bribery, *ib.*; becomes sole power in the city, 25; his contention with Caesar about laying down authority, 26–30; consuls present him a sword and tell him to defend the republic; beginning of the Civil War, 31 *sq.*; sends forces across the Adriatic to Dyrrachium, 38; follows with remainder, 40; addresses officers and soldiers, 49 *sq.*; defeats Caesar at Dyrrachium, but does not make good use of victory, 61 *sq.*; follows Caesar to Pharsalus, 65 *sq.*; his army and allies, 70, 71; his speech before battle, 72; battle of Pharsalus, 76–81; flees to Larissa, 81; thence to Mitylene and finally to Egypt, 83; is killed, 84 *sq.*; his head shown to Caesar, 86, 90; his monument and epitaph, 86; his sons Gnaeus and Sextus, and his daughter, 100; his theatre, 115; Antony buys his property at sale *sub hasta*, V. 79; his memory remains in public mind, 99.

Pompeius, Gn., son of preceding, raises army in Spain, C. II, 87, 103; defeated by Caesar and killed, 104 *sq.*

Pompeius Aulus, Sp. 64; successor of Metellus at Numantia, 76 *sq.*; makes deceitful peace with Numantines, 79; delivers worthless army to his successor, 83.

Pompeius, Quintus, consul with Sulla, C. I, 56; joins forces with Sulla when the latter advances against the city, 57; killed in a military assembly, 63.

Pompeius, Q. son of preceding and son-in-law of Sulla C. I, 56.

Pompeius, Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, moves about Spain in hiding with a few followers, C. II, 105; IV, 83; V, 143; pursued by Caesar's officers, II, 122; III, 4; recalled by Senate and invested with command of the sea, *ib.*; IV, 84; occupies Sicily, 84 *sq.*; proscribed by triumvirs, 96; gives refuge to proscripts, 25, 36; V, 143; naval engagement with Salvidienus, lieutenant of Octavian, IV, 85; cuts off supplies of Antony and Octavian, 100, 108, 117; Murcus joins forces with him, V. 2, 25; brings famine upon Rome, 15, 18, 67; infests coast of Italy, 19, 56, 58, 62; prefers defence to attack. 25, 91, 143; sends Antony's mother to him, and gains his friendship, 52, 62 *sq.*; Octavian not willing to be reconciled to him, 65 *sq.*; holds Corsica and Sardinia, 67; puts Murcus to death, 70; makes peace with

Octavian and Antony, 71–74; his mother, Mucia, 69, 72; peace broken, 77; war with Octavian, 81 *sq.*; wins naval battle against Octavian, 85; allows Octavian's shattered fleet to escape, 91; calls himself the son of the sea and of Neptune, 100; looks on at battle of Mylae, 105 *sq.*; swoops upon his enemy at Tauromenium, but again wastes opportunity, 110 *sq.*; naval fight at Naulochus, 118 *sq.*; vanquished, flees from Sicily, sends legates to Antony and also to the Parthians, 133 *sq.*; received in Asia by Antony's lieutenant Furnius, with whom he wages war, 137 *sq.*; forced to surrender and is killed, 142, 144; summary of his exploits, 143.

Pomponius, tribune, accuses father of M. Torquatus, Sa. II.

Pomponius, prefect of horse to Lucullus, captured by Mithridates, Mi. 79.

Pomponius, proscribed, escapes in guise of a praetor, C. IV, 45.

Pomponius, M., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.

Pontic sea (the Euxine), Pr. 2, 4; Mi. 47, 118, 121; its mouth, 12, 17, 95, 107.

Pontifex Maximus (chief priest), Scipio Nasica, C. I, 16; Mucius Scaevola, 88; the Pompeians contend with each other for the office when held by Caesar, II, 69; position offered to Lepidus, 132; office held for life by one person, V, 131.

Pontilius, G., a leader of the Italians in Social War, C. I, 40.

Pontius Aquila, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.

Pontius the Samnite, sends the Romans under the yoke, Sa. IV, 2 *sq.*; his father, *ib.*, 3 *sq.*

Pontus, Mi. 1, 8, 78, 103, 107, 115, 119; C. II, 49, 87; V, 133; Mithridates the founder of Pontic kingdom, Mi. 9; kingdom of Pontus and Cappadocia formerly one, afterward divided, *ib.*; Pompey has a triumph on account of Pontus, 116; Darius appointed king of Pontus by Antony, C. V, 75; Pontus a Roman province, Mi. 121; Pontic nations, Pr. 2; Pontic people, Mi. 41, 92.

Popaedius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40, 44, 53.

Popilius, C., prefect of fleet, guards mouth of Euxine, Mi. 17; another, succeeds Pompeius in Spain, Sp. 79; another, draws a circle round Antiochus, Sy. 66.

Popilius Laena, senator, prays for success of Brutus and Cassius in their attempt on Caesar's life, C. II, 115; detains Caesar at entrance of senate-house, 116; another, kills Cicero, IV, 19 *sq.*

Popillius, overcomes the Gauls, G. I, 2.

Porcia, wife of Brutus, swallows live coals, C. IV, 136.

Postumius, consul, Sa. IV, 6; ambassador to the Tarentines, VII, 2; another, lictor of Bibulus, C. II, 12; another, lieutenant of Caesar, 58.

Pothinus, a eunuch, has charge of treasury of Ptolemy, brother of Cleopatra, C. II, 84, 90.

Praeneste, town of Latium, obtains Roman citizenship, C. I, 65; Sulla besieges younger Marius there, 87 *sq.*; place captured and cruelly treated, 94; occupied by Lucius Antonius, V, 21.

Praetor, has one-half of insignia of consul, Sy. 25; city praetor introduces ambassadors to Senate, Mi. 6; chooses ambassadors from Senate, *ib.*; two praetors with insignia of office captured by pirates, Mi. 93; praetor presides over comitia, C. I, 28; praetor killed in senate-house by people, who threw tiles down upon his head, 32; another killed while offering sacrifice, 54; praetor convokes Senate (in absence of the consuls), 88; Sulla forbids anybody to hold praetorship before quaestorship, 100; no candidates for praetorship during war with Spartacus, 118; city praetor holds higher position than other praetors, II, 112; city praetor must not absent himself from the city, III, 2; adoption of son must be ratified in presence of praetor, 14; proscript escapes in guise of a praetor, IV, 45.

Praetorian guard, of Octavian, C. III, 66, 67; annihilated in battle near Mutina, 69.

Procas Silvius, K. I, 1.

Proconnesus, island of Propontis, C. V, 139.

Proconsuls, with consular power sent to Syria, Sy. 51; sent throughout Italy (Appian in error), C. I, 38; title of proconsul continues until he returns to the city, 80.

Prometheus, on Mount Caucasus, Mi. 103.

Promona, town of the Liburnians in Illyria, Il. 12, 25 *sq.*

Propontis, between Hellespont and Euxine, Mi. 95; C. V, 138.

Proscription, invented by Sulla, C. I, 95 *sq.*; IV, 1; reasons for proscription of triumvirs, 5; edict of, 8–11; number of proscribed, 5, 17 *sq.*; boys proscribed, 30; heads of proscribed carried to triumvirs, 7, 11; and exposed on the rostra, 15.

Proserpina, temple of, Sa. XII, 1, 2; H. 55; festival of, at Cyzicus, Mi. 75; rape of, C. IV, 105.

Protopachium, stronghold in Asia Minor, Mi. 19.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, Mi. 2; ally of the Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 23; Hannibal takes refuge with, and loses his life thereby, 11; after war with Perseus presents himself as suppliant, Mi. 2; attacks Attalus, king of Pergamus, 3; sends his son Nicomedes to Rome, 4; intending to kill his son, loses his own life, 6 *sq.*

Prusias (Broussa), under the mountain, town of Asia Minor, Mi. 77.

Prytanis, a magistrate of Rhodes, C. IV, 66.

Pseudo-Gracchus, C. I, 32 *sq.*

Pseudo-Marius, C. III, 57.

Ptolemy Euergetes, son of Ceraunus and king of Egypt, Sy. 65.

Ptolemy Lagus (or Soter), destroys walls of Jerusalem, Sy. 50; acquires Syria, 52; loses it again, 53; saluted as king, 54; companion of Seleucus at Babylon, 56; leaves kingdom of Egypt to his younger son, 62.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, second king of Egypt, his wealth, Pr. 10; friend of the Romans and the Carthaginians, Si. I; his daughter Berenice wife of Antiochus Deus, Sy. 65.

Ptolemy IV, Philopator, king of Egypt, Ma. III, 1; IV (*see* note); Sy. 1, 2, 4.

Ptolemy VI, Philometor, Sy. 66, 67, 68; Ma. XI, 4.

Ptolemy XI, Auletes, king of Egypt, Sy. 51; invites Pompey to suppress insurrection in his kingdom, Mi. 114; daughter of Mithridates betrothed to him, 111; driven from his kingdom by his own people, restored by Gabinius, Sy. 51.

Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, deprived of his kingdom by Clodian law, commits suicide, C. II, 23.

Ptolemy, a boy, son of Auletes, contends with his sister Cleopatra for kingdom and puts Pompey to death, C. II, 84; overcome by Caesar, 90; disappears at battle on the Nile, V, 9.

Publius, C. IV, 51; *see* Sestius.

Punic trenches, Pu. 32, 54; Punic War, first, Si. II, 2; Pu. 3 *sq.*; Sp. 3; second, 4; Pu. 6–37; H. 4–61; third, Pu. 74 *sq.*

Punicus, general of the Lusitanians, Sp. 56.

Puteoli (Pozzuoli), town on coast

of Campania, C. V, 50, 71 *sq.*, 74, 78, 97, 98, 112.
Pygmalion, prince of Tyre, kills husband of Dido, Pu. 1.
Pyrenees Mountains, divide Spain from Gaul, Sp. 1, 17, 28; H. 4; Il. 4; C. I, 140 *sq.*; IV, 2.
Pyrissaei, an Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called by the Tarentines to their assistance, Sa. VII, 3; puts people of Tarentum under severe discipline, VIII; offers peace through Cineas in vain to defeated Romans, X, 1, 3; offers bribe to Fabricius, 4; dismisses prisoners to let them attend festival of Saturn, 5; makes truce and departs for Sicily, XI; driven out by Carthaginians, XII, 1; robs temple of Proserpina, 2; holds control of Adriatic, Il. 7; stands next to Alexander as military commander, in the opinion of Hannibal, Sy. 10.
Pythian temple, despoiled by Sulla, Mi. 54.

Q

Quintilis, month of, changed to July in honour of Caesar, C. II, 106.
Quintius, Roman general against Viriathus, Sp. 66; another, proscribed, father-in-law of Asinius Pollio, C. IV, 12, 27.
Quintius, Titus, drives back Gauls with great slaughter, G. I, 1.
Quintus, centurion, betrays Dolabella to Cassius, C. IV, 62; V, 4.

R

Rams, battering, Pu. 98; C, IV, 62; protected by the *testudo*, Mi. 73 *sq.*
Ravenna, city of the Boii near Adriatic, C. I, 89; II, 32; III, 42, 97; V, 33, 50, 78, 80.
Rebilus, proscribed, C. IV, 48; another, senator, captured and released by Menodorus, C. V, 101.
Regillum, town of the Sabines, K. XI.
Remus, brother of Romulus, K. I, 2; Fr. I, 3.
Restio, C. Antius, proscribed, C. IV, 43.
Rhaeti, Alpine tribe at head of Danube, Il. 6, 29.
Rhascupolis, Thracian prince, guides Brutus and Cassius to Philippi, C. IV, 87, 103 *sq.*, 136.
Rhascus, brother of preceding, *ib.*
Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor, K. I, 2; Fr. I, 2.
Rheginus, C. Antistius, proscribed, flees in garb of a coal dealer, C. IV, 40.
Rhegium (Reggio), town of the Bruttii near straits of Sicily, H. 44; C. II, 95; IV, 25, 39, 85; V, 81, 84; promised by triumvirs as booty to soldiers, IV, 3, 86; inhabitants of, killed Roman garrison, Sa. IX, 1 *sq.*; Fabricius delivers town to remaining citizens, 3; column of Rhegium, C. V, 85, 103, 112.
Rhesus, at siege of Troy, Mi. 1.
Rhetogenes, a Numantine, Sp. 94.
Rhine, river, Pr. 4; G. I, 5; C. III, 97.
Rhodians, of Doric descent, C. IV, 67, 79; bravely repel Demetrius, 66; complain to Romans against Philip, Ma. IV, VII, VIII; aid Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 22, 25; receive Lycia and Caria from Romans, 44; these provinces taken back, *ib.*; Romans incensed against them, Ma. XI, 3; C. IV, 66; defeat Mithridates in a naval battle, Mi. 24–26; again inscribed as allies of Roman people by Sulla, 61; contemplate surrendering Norbanus to Sulla, C. I, 91; send ships to Pompey, II, 71, 83; to Dolabella, IV, 60; but refuse them to Cassius, 61; Cassius makes war against them, 65 *sq.*; overcomes and fines them, 73; Lucius Varus left in charge of them, 74; their revolution after Philippi, V, 2; Antony gives

them certain islands, 7; takes them away again, *ib.*

Rhodoguna, sister of Phraates, wife of Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 67.

Rhodope, mountain in Thrace, Mi. 69.

Rhoeteum, town of the Troad, Sy. 23.

Rhone, river of Gaul, G. XV; C. I, 109; V, 66.

Rhyndacus, river of Mysia, Mi. 75.

Robbers, in Lusitania, Sp. 71–77; capture Decimus Brutus, C. III, 98; infest Rome, V, 132; suppressed by Octavian, *ib.*; Varus, proscribed, taken for a robber, IV, 28; robber seizes a proscribed boy, 30.

Romans, never cast down by disaster, Pr. 11; greedy of gold, Sa. XI, 1; Mi. 56; profess superiority in religion and good faith, Pu. 79; deliver twenty of their leaders naked to the Samnites, Sp. 83; lose 100,000 men in two years in war with Hannibal, H. 25; not experienced in naval affairs, Sy. 22; too credulous in respect of prodigies, C. I, 83; perfidy toward Spaniards, Sp. 61; toward Carthaginians, Pu. 67 *sq.*, 72; zeal in defending honour of the Roman name, Mi. 22; slaughter of Romans in cities of Asia, 22 *sq.*, 62.

Rome, captured by the Gauls, G. I, 1; C. IV, 95; "city of kings," Sa. X, 3; lustration of, C. I, 26; part of, consumed by fire, IV, 25; afflicted by famine, V, 18, 80; infested by robbers and delivered from them, 132.

Romulus, founder of the city, K. I, 2; II; Fr. I, 3, 4; war with Tatius, K. IV; said to have been killed for turning royal power into tyranny, C. II, 114.

Romulus Silvius, king of Alba, killed by lightning, K. I, 2.

Roscius, prefect of camp of Cornificius, C. IV, 56.

Rubicon, river separating Cisalpine Gaul from Italy, C. II, 35; III, 61.

Rubrius, tribune, C. I, 14.

Rubrius Ruga (or Rex), conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113.

Rufus, Q. Salvidienus, proscribed on account of his house, C. IV, 29; another, crosses the Alps, V, 20.

Rutilius Lupus, consul in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*; dies, 43.

Rutilius Rufus, military tribune, wrote history of Numantine war, Sp. 88.

Rutilius, legate of Sulla, sent to hold a colloquy with Fimbria, Mi. 60.

Rutuli, people of Italy, in Latium, K. I, 1.

S

Sabines, people of Italy on Tiber, K. III; peace made with Romans, IV; incited against Romans by Tarquinius, XI.

Sabinus, lieutenant of Calvisius, C. V, 81; purges Italy of robbers, 132.

Saburra, general of Juba, C. II, 45; killed by Sittius, IV, 54.

Sacriportus, near Praeneste, C. I, 87.

Saguntum, maritime city of Spain, colony of Zacynthus, embraces alliance of the Romans, Sp. 7; H. 2; Pu. 6; captured and destroyed by Hannibal, 10–12.

Salapia, city of Apulia in Italy, betrayed to Romans by Blatius, H. 45–47; Salapians answer Hannibal's stratagem by stratagem of their own, 51; Cosconius captures and burns Salapia in Social War, C. I, 52.

Salassi, Alpine tribe in east of Cisalpine Gaul, Il. 17.

Salassus, Vettius, proscribed, betrayed by his wife, C. IV, 24.

Salernum, Roman colony in Italy, C. I, 42.

Salinator, C. Livius, consul, H. 42.

Sallustius (Salustius) Crispus, sent by Caesar to quiet mutiny, narrowly escapes, C. II, 92 (*see note*); prefect of Mauritania, 100.

Salona, maritime town of Dalmatia, Il. 11.

Salvidienus, lieutenant of Octavian sent against Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, C. IV, 85; sent to Spain, V, 20; recalled, 24, 27, 31 *sq.*, 35; detected in attempt to betray Octavian, put to death by him, 66.

Salvius, tribune, at first favours Antony, C. III, 50 *sq.*; afterward joins Cicero, is proscribed and slain, IV, 17.

Salyi, a people of Gallia Narbonensis, near Marseilles, G. XII.

Samaritans, in Palestine, Herod appointed king of, by Antony, C. V, 75.

Samnites, descendants of Sabines, Sa. IV, 5; engaged in conflict with Romans for eighty years, Pr. 14; Pu. 58; overcome by Cornelius and Corvinus, Sa. I, 1; defeated again, offer satisfaction to Romans, which is not accepted, IV, 1; humble the pride of the Romans at Caudine forks, 2–7; twenty Roman generals are surrendered to them, Sp. 83; Mithridates makes a league with them, Mi. 112; take up arms in Social War, C. I, 39; conquered by Sulla, 51; again by Cosconius, 52; gain right of citizenship later than other Italians, 53; join Marius, 68; Sulla slaughters Samnites captured by him, 87; Samnite leader Statius proscribed, IV, 25.

Samnium, part of Italy, adjoining Latium, C. I, 90, 119.

Samos, island near Ionia, Sy. 24; C. IV, 42, 134; captured by Philip, Ma. IV; captured by pirates, Mi. 63.

Samothrace, island of the Aegean sea, Ma. XVIII, 1; Pu. 71; temple plundered by pirates, Mi. 63.

Sangarius, river of Bithynia, Mi. 19.

Sapaeans, Thracian tribe, their mountain pass, C. IV, 87, 102 *sq.*

Sardinia, island of the Mediterranean, H. 54; Mi. 95; C. I, 107; II, 40, 54; V, 78; taken from Carthaginians, Sp. 4; Pu. 2, 5; war in it, H. 8; fruitful in corn, C. II, 40; Caesar appoints Q. Valerius governor, 41, 48; one of Octavian's provinces, IV, 2; V, 24; taken by Sextus Pompeius and again by Octavian, 56, 66, 72, 80.

Sardis, chief city of Lydia, Sy. 29, 36.

Sarmatians, at mouth of the Tanais (Don), Mi. 15, 120; Sauromatae, Basilidae, and Iazyges, at mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), 69.

Sarpedon, building sacred to, in Xanthus, C. IV, 78 *sq.*

Sarpedonium, promontory of Cilicia, Sy. 39.

Sarus, river of Cilicia, Sy. 4.

Satraps, of Alexander, assume title of king after his death, Sy. 52, 54; kingdom of Alexander divided into many satrapies, Pr. 10; Sy. 52.

Saturn, temple of, where quaestors administered oaths, C. I, 31.

Saturnalia, Sa. X, 5.

Saturnia, town of Etruria, C. I, 89.

Saturninus, Cn. Sentius Vetulo, seeks to conciliate Sextus Pompeius to Antony, C. V, 52; goes over to Antony, 139.

Save, river of Pannonia flowing into the Danube, Il. 22.

Scaeva, centurion of Caesar at Dyrrachium, C. II, 60.

Scaevola, Mucius, pontifex maximus, C. I, 88.

Scamander, plain of, part of Troad, C. V, 138.

Scapula, proceeds to Spain with son of Pompey, C. II, 87; burns himself to death, 105.

Scarpheia, town of the Locri Epicnemidii, Sy 19.

Scaton, Vettius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*

Scaurus, quaestor of Pompey, prefect of Syria, Sy. 51; C. V, 10; convicted of bribery and banished, II, 24; son of above, passes over from Sextus Pompeius to Antony, V, 142.

Sciathus, island near Thessaly, storehouse of robbers, Mi. 29; given to Athenians by Antony, C. V, 7.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius, consul, sent to Spain against Carthaginians, returns to oppose Hannibal, Sp. 14; H. 5 *sq.*; wounded and put to flight by Hannibal on the Po, 7; goes to Spain as proconsul, 8; Sp. 16; surrounded by Hasdrubal and killed, 16; Pu. 6; father of Scipio Africanus the elder, Sp. 18.

Scipio, Gnaeus Cornelius, brother and lieutenant of preceding, goes to Spain, Sp. 14 *sq.*; burned to death by Carthaginians, 16; Pu. 6; father of Scipio Nasica, H. 56.

Scipio, P. Cornelius (the elder Africanus), son of Publius, sent to Spain as commander while yet a youth, Sp. 18; Pu. 6; gives out that he is divinely inspired, Sp. 19, 26; Pu. 6; believes so himself, Sp. 23; besieges and captures New Carthage, 20–23; overcomes Hasdrubal, 24; also Masinissa, at Carmo, 25–27; exposes himself to great peril there, *ib.*; crosses to Africa to meet Syphax, 28 *sq.*; destroys Ilurgis and captures Castace, 32; mutiny in his army, 34–36; grants peace to Indibilis and comes to terms with Masinissa, 37; establishes colony of Italica, returns to Rome and enjoys triumph, 38; consul is sent to Africa, H. 55; Pu. 6; in Sicily he arms and equips three hundred young men as his bodyguard, 8; appoints Pleminius prefect of Locri, H. 55; proceeds from Sicily to Africa, Pu. 13; captures Hanno with aid of Masinissa, 14; also the town of Locha, 15; besieges Utica, 16; makes night attack on camp of Hasdrubal and scatters his forces, 19–21, 23; advances to Carthage, repels naval attack by Hamilcar, 24 *sq.*; winters before Utica, 25; has a colloquy with Syphax, whom he has taken prisoner, 27 *sq.*; punishes conspiracy in his camp, 29 *sq.*; armistice, 31; grants peace to Carthaginians, 32; peace broken by Carthaginians, 34; his magnanimity to Carthaginian ambassadors, 35; confronts Hannibal at Zama, 36; grants armistice to Hannibal, 37; armistice broken, 39; overcomes Hannibal, 40–48; embassies concerning peace, 49 *sq.*; conditions of peace, 54; Roman Senate deliberates, 56–64; opinion of Scipio prevails and peace is given to Carthage, 65; Scipio's triumph, 66; goes as ambassador to Antiochus, Sy. 9; conversation with Hannibal at Ephesus, 10; as lieutenant of his brother Lucius wages war against Antiochus, 21, 23, 29 *sq.*; fixes conditions of peace with Antiochus, 38; placed under accusation at Rome, but refuses to take notice, 40 *sq.*; his brother Lucius, Sp. 29; his son captured by Antiochus and returned without ransom, 29; his daughter Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, C. I, 17.

Scipio, L. Cornelius, brother of preceding, accompanies his brother in Spain, Sp. 29; as consul is sent against Antiochus, Sy. 21; his brother goes with him as lieutenant, *ib. sq.*; commands the centre in the battle against Antiochus, 31; *see also* Il. 5.

Scipio, P. Cornelius Aemilianus (the younger Africanus), Pu. 2; son of Aemilius Paulus, 101; Ma. XIX; Sy. 29; adopted into family of the Scipios, *ib.*; lieutenant of Lucullus in Spain, Sp. 49; vanquishes a Celtiberian in single combat, 53; sent by Lucullus to Masinissa, Pu. 71; mediator between Masinissa and Carthaginians, 72; as military tribune in Africa rescues detachment of soldiers, 98, 103; also the camp, 99, 101; Phameas does not dare to attack him, 100; other tribunes envious of him *ib.*; gives advice to Manilius in vain, 102; his rising fame, 105; divides Masinissa's estate among his sons, 106; sent to Rome with Phameas, 109; while seeking election as aedile, is elected consul before lawful age, 112; C. IV, 92; arrives at Utica and frees Mancinus from position of great peril, Pu. 114; restores discipline in the army, 114–117; captures Megara, a suburb of Carthage, and forces Carthaginians inside of Byrsa, 117 *sq.*; gets possession of the isthmus and cuts off enemy's supplies, 121; a naval battle, 112 *sq.*; desperate fight for possession of a quay, 124; Scipio captures neighbouring towns, 126; besieges and captures Byrsa, 127–133; weeps over destruction of city, 132; pronounces a curse on its site, 135; C. I, 24; his triumph, Pu. 135; consul a second time, Sp. 84; marches against Numantines, *ib.*; restores military discipline, 85 *sq.*; makes preparations for investing Numantia, 87 *sq.*; draws a line of circumvallation around the city, 90 *sq.*; captures it, 96; receives title of Numantinus, 98; becomes patron of Italian allies and loses popularity at home, C. I, 19; found dead in his bed, 20; his brother Maximus Aemilianus, Sp. 90; his wife Sempronia, C. I, 20.

Scipio Nasica, son of Gnaeus Scipio, who fell in Spain, H. 56; another, thinks Carthage should be spared, Pu. 69; as consul, demolishes a theatre, C. I, 28; another, quaestor of the younger Africanus, sent to receive arms of Carthaginians, Pu. 80; as pontifex maximus makes an assault on the crowd of Gracchans at the Capitol, C. I, 16.

Scipio, L. (Asiaticus), escapes from Aesernia during Social War, in guise of a slave, C. I, 41; as consul commands army against Sulla, 82; has a colloquy with Sulla, and is deserted by his army, 85; dismissed with his son Lucius, without harm, by Sulla, 86.

Scipio, L., father-in-law of Pompey the Great, accused of bribery, is saved by Pompey, C. II, 24; colleague of Pompey in consulship, 25; leads army to Pompey from Syria, 60; commands centre of Pompey's army at Pharsalus, 76; proceeds with Cato to Africa, 87; obtains aid from Juba, 95 *sq.*; vanquished by Caesar and takes flight, 97; throws himself into the sea, 100; his image borne in Caesar's triumph, 101.

Scodra, town of Illyria, C. V, 65.

Scorba, mountain on boundary of Bithynia and Pontus, Mi. 19.

Scordisci, a people of lower Pannonia, Il. 2, 3.

Scordiscus, descendant of Polyphemus, Il. 2.

Scotius, mountain of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 210.

Scribonia, sister of Libo, her hand in marriage asked by Octavian, C. V, 53.

Scyllaeum, projecting rock in straits of Sicily, C. IV, 85; V, 85.

Scythia, Sy. 57; Mi. 102, 108, 112, 119.

Scythians, a people of northern Europe and Asia, Mi. 13, 78, 101; allies of Mithridates, 15, 41, 69, 119; their medical men, the Agari, 88; Scythians in Pompey's triumph, 116; their female rulers, 117.

Sedetania, town of the Celtiberians in Spain, Sp. 77.

Segeda, town of the Celtiberians in Spain, Sp. 44 *sq.*

Segesta, town of Pannonia near the Save, Il. 10, 17, 22, 24.

Seguntia, (or -ium) town of Spain, C. I, 110.

Selene, wife of Antiochus Pius, king of Syria, Sy. 69; her son Antiochus Asiaticus, 70.

Seleucia, on the sea, a city of Syria, Sy. 4, 58; thunder worshipped as a god, 58; Seleucus buried there, 63; on the Tigris, founded at a propitious time, 58; stronghold of Mesopotamia, Mi. 114; nine Seleucias built by Seleucus, Sy. 57.

Seleucidae, Sy. 65 *sq.*; Parthians revolt from, 48, 65; family of, reigns two hundred and thirty years, 70.

Seleucis, part of Cappadocia, Sy. 55; of Palestine, Mi. 117.

Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 1; C. V, 10; satrap of Babylon, expelled by Antigonus and flees to Ptolemy, Sy. 53; regains Babylon, 54; assumes name of king, and on death of Antigonus acquires other provinces, 55; omens formerly appearing to him, 56; surname Nicator, his strength, his wives, 57; cities built by him, 57 *sq.*; gives his wife, Stratonice, in marriage to his son, Antiochus Soter, 59–61; is killed by Ceraunus, son of Ptolemy 62 *sq.*

Seleucus, the second, Callinicus, father of Antiochus, Sy. 1, 66.

Seleucus, the third, brother of Callinicus, Sy. 66.

Seleucus, the fourth, son of Antiochus, Sy. 3; besieges Pergamus, 26; commands left wing of his father's army at Magnesia, 33; flees to Apamea, 36; succeeds his father and is killed by a plot, 45.

Seleucus, the fifth, son of Demetrius Nicator and Cleopatra, killed by his mother, Sy. 68 *sq.*

Seleucus, the sixth, son of Grypus, burned to death in the gymnasium at Mopsuestia, Sy. 69.

Sempronius, Gnaeus, Hannibal's prisoner, allowed to go to Rome to treat for ransom of all, H. 28.

Sempronius (or Septimus), Roman soldier in service of Ptolemy, the boy king of Egypt, C. II, 84; kills Pompey the Great, 85.

Sempronius Longus, T., consul, comes from Sicily with an army to oppose Hannibal, H. 6; defeated with Scipio at the Trebia, 7.

Sempronius, P., with remnant of the Roman forces from Cannae, breaks through the enemy, H. 26.

Sempronius Tuditanus, consul, sits in judgment on cases arising under the agrarian law of Gracchus, C. I, 19; finding the labour irksome, he marches against Illyrians, *ib.*; Il. 10.

Sena (Siena), town of the Senones in Umbria, H. 25; C. I, 88.

Senate meets in the temple of Fides, C. I, 16; swears to support the Apuleian law, 31; cannot be convoked by one consul without consent of the other, II, 11; tribune of the plebs has right to dismiss, 29; presents itself before Caesar with decrees concerning him, 107; when games are in progress, holds its meetings near the theatre, 115; after assassination of Caesar meets in temple of Tellus, 126; a Roman Senate of three hundred men collects at Utica, 95; Senate of Sertorius, Mi. 68; of Belgida burned to death in senate-house, Sp. 100; Carthaginian Senate reproves rashness of the people, Pu. 35; Senate of Nuceria suffocated in bath-house, Pu. 63; of Acerrae thrown into wells, *ib.*; of the Vacenses put to death by Metellus, Nu. III.

Senatorial order, deprived of judicial function, C. I, 22; heads of senators suspended from the rostra, 71; senators of Marian faction put to death by Sulla, 94; interreges, 98; three hundred knights chosen for Senate, 100; senators carry Sulla's body to the Campus Martius, 106; senators assemble at house of

Bibulus, II, 11; go to meet Caesar in Gaul, 17; twenty senators lieutenants to Pompey in war against the pirates, 18; Mi. 94; Pompey addresses them, 50; three hundred senators proscribed, IV, 5; Octavian promises to his military tribunes and centurions senatorial office in their own towns, V, 128; senators go out to meet Octavian, 130.
Sentia (or Sentinum), town of Italy, C. V, 30.
Septimius, proscribed, betrayed by his wife, C. IV, 23.
Serapio, prefect of Cyprus for Cleopatra, C. IV, 61.
Sergius, proscribed, hides in house of Antony, C. IV, 45.
Serranus, prefect of fleet, Pu. 114.
Serrium, promontory of Thrace on the Aegean, C. IV, 101 *sq.*
Sertorius, associated with Cinna and Carbo, C. I, 65, 67, 85; departs to province of Spain, 86; receives reinforcements under Perpenna, 107; Sertorian war, 108–114; sends legates to Mithridates, Mi. 68; killed by Perpenna, C. I, 113; his white fawn, I, 110; his character, 112.
Servile war in Sicily, Sp. 99; C. I, 9.
Servilia, sister of Cato and mother of Marcus Brutus, C. IV, 135; beloved by Caesar, II, 112.
Servilius, Gn., consul against Hannibal, H. 8; sent by dictator Fabius to Rome, 12; returns to army, 16; approves Fabius's policy of delay, 18; loses his life at Cannae, 19, 22–24.
Servilius, Q., proconsul in Social War, killed by people of Asculum, C. I, 38.
Servilius Caepio, Q., brother of Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Sp. 70; succeeds his brother against Viriathus, *ib.*; procures murder of Viriathus by treachery, 74; vanquishes Tantalus, successor of Viriathus, 75; another, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40.
Servilius Casca, Q., conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113, 115, 117.
Servilius Casca, P., brother of preceding, C. II, 113.
Servilius Isauricus, consul, C. I, 103; accomplishes nothing against the pirates, Mi. 93; another, consul with Caesar, C. II, 48.
Servilius Rullus, general of horse for Octavian, routed by Antony near Brundusium, C. V, 58.
Servius Tullius, king of Rome, K. II; institutes *comitia tributa*, C. I, 59.
Sestius (Lucius: Appian wrongly Publius) proscribed, C. IV, 5.
Sestus, European town on Hellespont, Sy. 21, 23; C. IV, 82, 87.
Setium (or Setia), (Plutarch *Signia*), town of Italy in Latium, C. I, 87.
Setovia, town of Dalmatia, Il. 27.
Sextilius, lieutenant of Lucullus, besieges Tigranocerta, Mi. 84.
Sextius (or Sextilius) warns Marius away from Africa, C. I, 62; another (Sextius), condemned for bribery, C. II, 24.
Sextius, T. commands three legions in Africa for Caesar, C. III, 85; IV, 53; draws Arabio and Sittius over to his side, 54; kills Ventidius, Laelius, and Cornificius, and brings all Africa under control of triumvirs, 55 *sq.*; as lieutenant of Antony yields Africa to Octavian and delivers his army to Fango, V, 12; attacks and overcomes Fango and regains two provinces of Africa, 26; Lepidus deprives him of command of legions, 75.
Sextius Naso, conspirator against Caesar, C. II. 113.
Ship, sticking in mud of Tiber, H. 56; carrying fire, Sy. 24, 27; Romans burn Syrian, Sy. 46; different kinds and names of: *acatium*, C. V, 112; open ship (without deck), Pu. 75; *cercurus*, *ib.*; *celes celetium*, a fast-sailing ship, 13; Mi. 33; C. II,

56; *dicrotum*, galley with two banks of oars, Mi. 17, 92; *hemiolia*, one and a half banks, Pu. 75; Mi. 29, 92; *hexeris*, six banks, Ma. IX, 3; C. V, 71, 73; *lembus* (pinnace), Pu. 13; *liburnica*, Il. 3; C. II, 39; *myoparo* (light piratical craft), Mi. 92; *oneraria* (ship of burden), Pu. 13; C. II, 56; *penteris*, *quinqueremis* (five banks), Pu. 75; Mi. 25; *phaselus triremis* (light vessel shaped like a kidney bean), C. V, 95; *praetoria* (flag ship), C. V, 80, 86; *remuclus* (tow boat), Mi. 78; *rostratae* (beaked ships) Mi. 117; *tectae*, *cataphractae*, decked ships, Sa. VII, 1; Ma. IX, 3; Mi. 17.

Sibylline books, bought by Tarquinius, K. VIII; consulted by decemvirs during Hannibalic war, H. 56; prediction concerning Philip, Ma. II; forbid a war against Egypt, Sy. 51; C. II, 24; prediction concerning Parthians, 110.

Sicambri, a Gallic tribe, G. I, 4.

Sicily, claimed by Pyrrhus, Sa. XI, 1; he is driven out by the Carthaginians, 2; XII, 1; Marcellus hated by Sicilians, Si. IV; taken from the Carthaginians by the Romans, Pu. 2, 4; Si. II, 2; Scipio restores the temple gifts taken by the Carthaginians, 133; insurrection of slaves in, C. I, 9; Cato yields the government to Pollio, II, 40; Curio appointed prefect by Caesar, 41; afterward A. Albinus, 48; becomes province of Octavian, IV, 2; pro-praetor Bithynicus surrenders it to Sextus Pompeius, 84 *sq.*; conceded to him by triumvirs, V, 78; Lepidus seeks to obtain, 123; Octavian imposes tribute on, 129; infested by robbers, 132.

Sicoris, river of Spain, C. II, 42.

Sicyon, city of Peloponnesus, on gulf of Corinth, C. V, 55.

Sidetae, a people of Pamphylia, send ships to aid Scipio, Pu. 123.

Sidicini, a people of Italy in Campania, Sa. III, 5.

Sidonians, a people of Phoenicia, send ships to aid Cassius, C. IV, 61.

Silanus, consul elect, opinion on conspirators with Catiline, C. II, 5.

Silanus, lieutenant of Scipio in Spain, Sp. 28, 32.

Silvius, surname of the Alban kings, K. I, 1, 2.

Sinope, a town of Paphlagonia, on the Euxine, Mi. 78; captured by Lucullus, 83; statue of Autolycus there, *ib.*; tombs of kings of Pontus, 113; captured by Pharnaces, who surrenders it to Domitius, 120.

Sinorex, stronghold in Asia Minor, Mi. 101.

Sintos, Thracian tribe, against whom Sulla makes war, Mi. 55.

Sintricus, king of the Parthians, father of Phraates, Mi. 104.

Sipus, town of southern Italy, C. V, 56, 58.

Sipylus, mountain of Asia Minor, in Lydia, Sy. 30.

Sisenna, L., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.

Sisinna, son of Glaphyra, obtains kingdom of Cappadocia from Antony, C. V, 7.

Sittians, followers of Sittius in Africa, C. IV, 54, 56.

Sittius Calenus, proscribed, C. IV, 47.

Sittius, Nucerinus, raises a military force in Africa, C. IV, 54.

Slaves, Senate frees and arms in Hannibalic war, H. 27; Fabius, lieutenant of Lucullus, does the same in Mithridatic war, Mi. 88; a slave occupies throne of Syria, Sy. 68; two slaves betray Piraeus to Sulla, Mi. 31, 34; price of a slave in Scythia four drachmas, 78; Italy endangered by vast number of slaves, C. I, 7, 9; slaves of proscripts enfranchised by Sulla, 100; slaves wear same garb as their masters, 120; slaves faithful to their proscribed masters, 73; IV, 22, 29, 39, 51;

a slave who betrays his master punished by triumvirs, 29; slave feigns himself a proscript, 49; manumission of slaves, 135; slaves in Perusia denied food by Lucius Antonius, V, 35; tax *per capita* imposed on ownership of slaves, 67; freedom decreed to slaves serving under Sextus Pompeius, 72, 131; Octavian returns them to their masters or puts them to death, 131.

Smyrna, city of Ionia, Sy. 29; C. II, 26; Smyrneans resist Antiochus and send legates to Flamininus, Sy. 2.

Sobadacus, Scythian put under arrest by Mithridates, Mi. 79.

Socrates, Athenian philosopher, Sy. 41.

Socrates Chrestus, brother of Nicomedes, and pretender to throne of Bithynia, Mi. 10, 13.

Sogdiani, a people of Asia between Jaxartes and Oxus, Sy. 55.

Soli, a town of Cilicia, Mi. 115.

Soothsayer, predicts danger of death to Caesar, C. II, 116, 153; prediction of an Etruscan soothsayer and his own voluntary death, IV, 4; soothsayer consulted, It. VIII, 1; admonishes Scipio to beware of fire, Pu. 29; predicts falsely to the consul Octavius that no harm will come to him, C. I, 71; Scipio drives soothsayers from his camp, Sp. 85.

Sophene, part of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 105.

Sophocles, Pompey quotes, C. II, 85.

Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, betrothed to Masinissa, but married to Syphax, Pu. 10; her heroic death, 28.

Sossius, designated consul by Antony, Octavian. and Pompeius, C. V, 73.

Sotera, a town of Parthia, Sy. 57.

Spain, exploited by Carthaginians, Sp. 5; by Romans, 14 *sq.*; reduced to province after expulsion of Carthaginians, 37 *sq.*; divided by Augustus into three parts, 102; arrayed in hostility to the Romans by Sertorius, 101; Mi. 68; C. I, 86, 108 *sq.*; war of Caesar with Petreius and Afranius in Spain, C. II, 42 *sq.*; with elder son of Pompey, 103–105.

Spartacus, Thracian gladiator, wages war against Rome for three years, C. I, 116–120.

Spartagena, New Carthage in Spain, Sp. 12.

Spoletium, town of Italy, in Umbria, C. I, 90; V, 33.

Spurius, M., conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.

Staberius, appointed by Caesar governor of Apollonia, C. II, 54.

Stabiae town on coast of Campania near Mt. Vesuvius, C. I, 42.

Stabias, leader in Social War, C. I, 42.

Standards, taken from the Romans by the Lusitanians, Sp. 56; by the Dalmatians, Il. 28.

Statilius, conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 4.

Statilius Taurus, left by Octavian in command against the Dalmatians, Il. 27; lieutenant in war against Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 97–99, 103, 105, 109, 118.

Stola quadrata (a square-cut robe), worn by the Greeks, C. V, 11.

Strato, friend of Brutus, at Philippi, C. IV, 131.

Stratonice, wife of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57; stepmother and wife of Antiochus, 59–61; another, wife of Mithridates, Mi. 107.

Stratonicea, town of Asia Minor, in Caria, Sy. 57; Mi. 21.

Strongyle (Stromboli), one of the Aeolian islands, C. V, 105.

Strymon, river dividing Macedonia from Thrace, C. IV, 105 *sq.*

Suba, Numidian general of horse, deserts from Masinissa to Carthaginians, Pu. 70.

Suburra, street in Rome, C. I, 58.

Sucro, town of Tarraconensis, in Spain, C. I, 110.

Suessa, town of Campania, on Liris, C. I, 85, 108.

Sulla, L. Cornelius, quaestor of Marius, Nu. IV, V, lieutenant in the Cimbrian war, C. I, 77; as pro-praetor of Cilicia restores Ariobarzanes to his kingdom, Mi. 57; C. I, 77; lieutenant of Sextus Caesar in Social War, 40; overcomes Marsians, *ib.*, 46; also Cluentia and other places, 50 *sq.*; as consul departs to take command against Mithridates, 53; Marius, with help of Sulpicius, seeks to take the command from him, *ib.*; Sulla marches against Rome, defeats Marius and drives his faction out, 57 *sq.*; regulates affairs in the city, 59; marches against Mithridates, 63 *sq.*; obtains money, Mi. 22; despoils the temples of Greece, 54; besieges and captures Athens and Piraeus, 30–41; overcomes Archelaus at Chaeronea, 42 *sq.*; and at Orchomenus, 49 *sq.*; declared public enemy by Senate, 51; C. I, 73; peace conference with Archelaus, Mi. 54 *sq.*; crosses to Asia to fight Fimbria and Mithridates, 53, 56; grants peace to Mithridates, 56–58; gains possession of army of Fimbria, 59 *sq.*; regulates Asia and imposes heavy fine on inhabitants, 61–64; C. I, 76; writes to Senate, 77 *sq.*; returns to Italy with his army, Mi. 64; C. I, 79; gains Metellus and Pompey as allies, 81 *sq.*; puts his enemies to flight and enters the city, 89; proscribes senators and knights, 95; imposes heavy penalties on Italian cities, 96; assumes name of Fortune's Favourite, 97; created dictator, but is in fact king, 98 *sq.*; his constitution, 100; lays down dictatorship, 103; his death, 105; funeral, 106; his son, Faustus, *ib.*
Sulla, lieutenant of Caesar at Pharsalus, C. II, 76.
Sulpicius, C., dictator, overcomes Boii, G. I, 1.
Sulpicius Publius, tribune, of Marian faction, C. I, 55; perishes in war against Sulla, 58, 60.
Sulpicius, S., lieutenant of Gn. Pompeius in Social War, C. I, 47.
Sun, festival of, at Rhodes, Ma. XI, 3; C. V, 116.
Sutrium, town of Etruria, C. V, 31.
Synodium, town of Dalmatia, Il. 27.
Syphax, prince of the Numidians, Pu. 10; attacks Carthaginians, Sp. 15; marries daughter of Hasdrubal, who had been betrothed to Masinissa, Pu. 10; Sp. 37; joins Carthaginians in a war against Romans, Pu. 11; feigns friendship for Masinissa, 13; returns home, 14; seeks in vain to negotiate peace between Rome and Carthage, 17; openly sides with Carthage, 18; defeated and captured by Masinissa, 22; sent to Rome, where he dies of grief, 28.
Syracuse, city of Sicily, Si. II, 2; III; C. V, 70.
Syria, from the Persian rule to the Seleucidae, Sy. 52 *sq.*; C. V, 10; conquered by Tigranes, Sy. 48; Mi. 105; recovered by Antiochus, son of Pius, Sy. 49; and made Roman province by Pompey, 49 *sq.*; Mi. 106, 118; its governors from time of Pompey to Decidius Saxa, Sy. 51; Parthians make an incursion, C. IV, 63; V, 10, 65; governors after Saxa, Ventidius, V, 65; Plancus, 144; L. Bibulus, IV, 38; the son of Cicero, 51; different divisions of Syria, Pr. 2; Sy. 48, 50; Mi. 106, 118.

T

Taenarum, promontory of Peloponnesus, C. IV, 74.
Tagus, river of Spain, Sp. 51, 57, 71.
Talabriga, town of Lusitania, Sp. 73.
Talaura, town of Pontus, Mi. 115.
Talent, a money weight, Egyptian, Pr. 10; Euboic, Si. II, 2; Pu.

54; Sy. 38; Attic, Mi. 94; of silver, Sy. 56; Mi. 3; of gold, Pu. 127.
Tanais (the Don), river which separates Europe from Asia, Mi. 15.
Tangius, a robber, Sp. 77.
Tantalus, successor of Viriathus, Sp. 75.
Tarentine war, Sa. VII.
Tarentum, city in Calabria, Sy. 15; C. II, 40; V, 50, 80 *sq.*, 84, 93–99, 103; betrayed to Hannibal, H. 32; he takes citadel, 33 *sq.*; Romans recapture it by treachery, 49; its harbour, 34.
Tarquinius, Priscus, K. II.
Tarquinius Superbus, K. II, VII *sq.*; XI; C. IV, 95.
Tarsus, town of Cilicia, C. IV, 52; treated with severity by Cassius, 64; given freedom from tribute by Antony, V, 7.
Tartessus, town of Spain, at mouth of Baetis (Guadalquivir), Sp. 2.
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Taulas, son of Illyrius, grandson of Polyphemus, Il. 2.
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Taureas, a Capuan, single combat of, H. 37.
Tauri, allies of Mithridates, Mi. 15, 69.
Taurisci, a people of Pannonia, Il. 16.
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Tegea, town of Syria (and of Arcadia), Sy. 57.
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Telmissus, town of Asia Minor between Caria and Lycia, Mi. 24.
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Tenchteri, people of Germany, on the Rhine, G. I, 4; XVIII.
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